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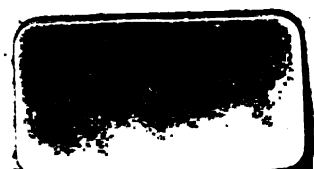
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Geabhar imuin. *The Book
of Hymns of the Ancient Church
of Ireland.*

FASCICULUS I.

Containing

- I. The Hymn of St. Sechnall in Praise of St. Patrick.
- II. The Hymn of St. Ultan in Praise of St. Brigid.
- III. The Hymn of St. Cummain Fota in Praise of the Apostles.
- IV. The Hymn of St. Mugint.

EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

With Translation and Notes,

BY JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.,

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.



DUBLIN:

Printed at the University Press,

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

1855.

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12

DUBLIN :
Printed at the University Press,
BY M. H. GILL.

THE

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

THIS Volume being only the first Part or Fasciculus of a larger work, the names of Members are not printed on the back of the title-page, which will be replaced by a permanent title-page when the book is completed.

The Editor is indebted to Mr. O'Neill for the drawing from which the Irish heading, in the ancient characters of the Book of Kells, has been engraved; also for the Vignette, representing the Hand of God, restored from the south-east Cross of Monasterboice (erected at the close of the ninth or early in the tenth century), where it occurs at the lower angle of the right arm, as if sustaining or supporting the Cross.—(See O'Neill's "Crosses of Ireland," Plate 15.) An excellent cast of this Cross was exhibited in the Dublin Exhibition, in 1853, and is now in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

The hand issuing from the Clouds, and surrounded by a *nimbus* or glory, is one of the most ancient emblems of Deity, and especially of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. Several examples of it will be found in the *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and *Annales Archéologiques* of Didron. Speaking of one instance, which occurs in a *Liber Precum*, a MS. of the ninth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale, this learned author says:—"Ces mains sont la plus ancienne représentation du Père. Par respect, par une sorte de dogme religieux, . . . on ne montra du Père qu' une main bénissante, sans nimbe d'abord, avec un nimbe crucifère ensuite."—*Icon. Chrét. (Hist. de Dieu)*, p. 56; *Ann. Arch.* tom i. p. 16.

The Hand is especially introduced in the ancient representations of our Saviour's sufferings and passion; and frequently also in pictures of the martyrs and confessors, to denote the divine grace and support given to them in their sufferings. "Au jardin des oliviers" (says the author just quoted) "lorsque le Sauveur, abattu par une tristesse surhumaine, s'écrie, *Mon Père détournez de moi ce calice*, une main sort du ciel, la main du Père, qui bénit son fils, et le console. Lorsque sur la croix Jésus, prêt à mourir, jette à son Père ces paroles désespérées, *Mon Dieu, Mon Dieu, pourquoi m'avez vous abandonné!* on aperçoit se dessiner, sur le sommet de la croix, une main qui bénit, et qui est la main du Père. Enfin lorsque Jésus remonte au ciel, après sa passion, et tenant en main sa croix de résurrection, son Père lui tend la main droite, et l'aide en quelque sorte à s'élever. Ce dernier sujet . . . est expliqué par ces deux vers d'Alcuin, placés précisément sous une Ascension peinte,

Dextera quæ Patris mundum ditione gubernat
Et Natum cælos proprium transexit in altos."

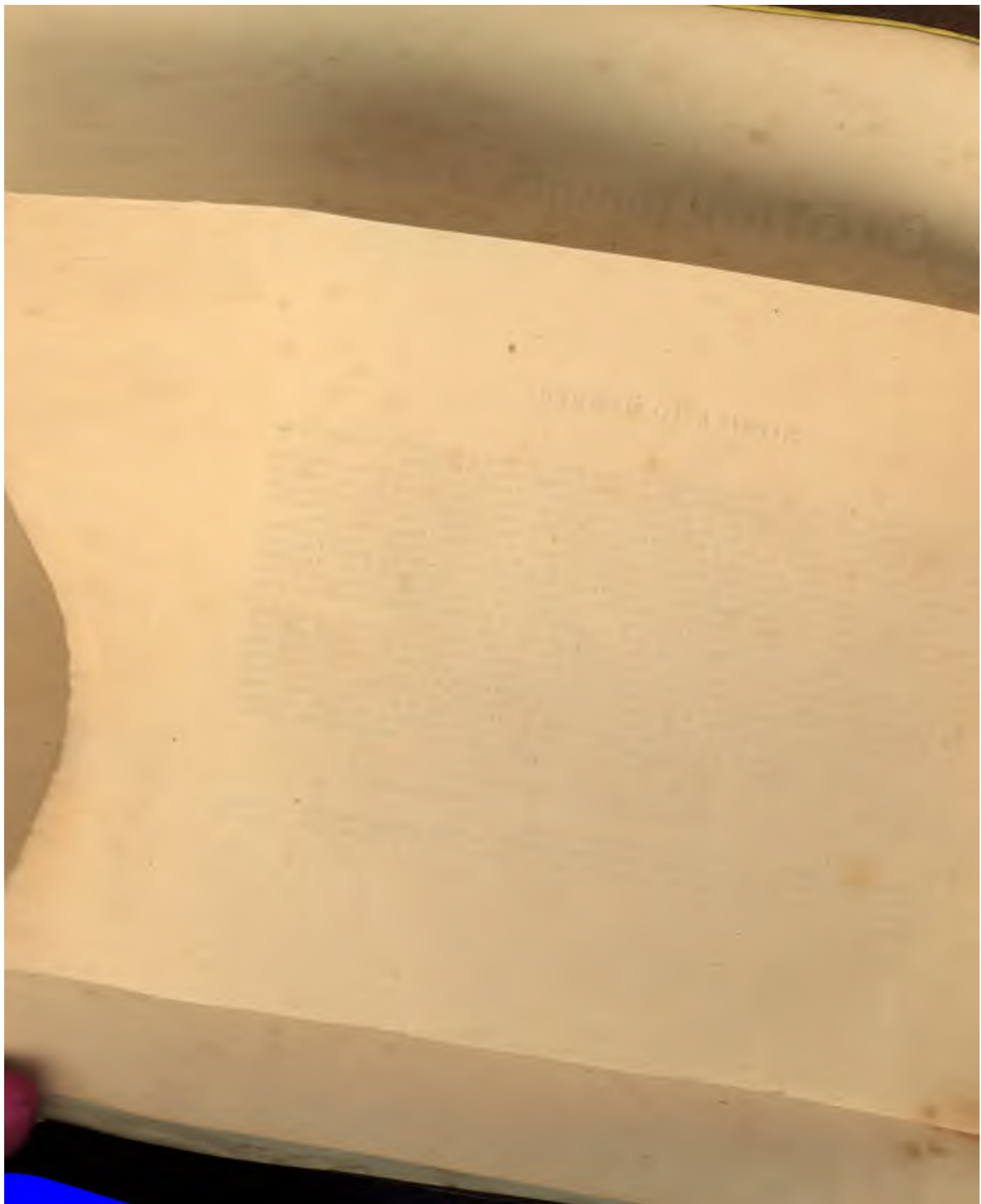
—*Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 213, 214.

And compare the woodcuts on pp. 210, 212, 216, &c. of the same work.

This explanation accounts for the occurrence of this ancient emblem on the Cross of Monasterboice and other similar monuments in Ireland: and it may also serve as an apology for the introduction of it as a Vignette, on the title-page of the present work.

February, 1855.

J. H. T.



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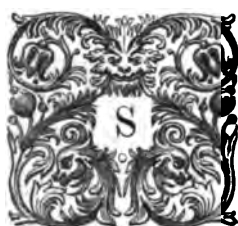
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ADVERTISEMENT.



SOME years ago the Editor of the present volume proposed to the Council of the IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY to print, with the assistance of his learned friend, Dr. Reeves, the celebrated *Liber Hymnorum*, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

This beautiful MS., which cannot be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe. It preserves to us a considerable portion of the ritual of the Church of Ireland, as it existed before the English Conquest, and before the attempt to establish uniformity with the Church of England by the introduction of the Salisbury use into Ireland, in the twelfth century.

A large number of the Hymns which it contains have never been published, and are wholly unknown to the learned. The Latin Hymns are accompanied throughout by a gloss, partly Latin and partly Irish, and scholia, very interesting in a philological point of view; whilst those of them which are written in the Irish language are, setting aside their historical importance, most valuable, from their great antiquity, to the student of Celtic literature.

But the inherent difficulties of the work, as well as its expense, have hitherto deterred the Editor and the Society from proceeding with the publication. It was ascertained also, that an ancient copy of it, which had formerly belonged to the Franciscan Monastery at Donegal, is preserved in the Library of St. Isidore's College at Rome, and as a second copy would necessarily be of essential service in supplying the defects, and correcting the obscurities or the errors, of the Dublin MS., it was thought desirable to wait until an attempt had been made to get access to the MS. at St. Isidore's.

Time, however, is going on, and every year's delay is fraught with danger. The death of any one of the eminent Irish scholars, who have been so long engaged in the study of our ancient records, would render it impossible to bring out the work, at least the Irish portion of it, with the same fulness of illustration and accuracy which may now be attained. It seems desirable, therefore, to delay no longer the publication of this most important monument of our ecclesiastical history. Although the possession of another copy would, no doubt, be an immense advantage, yet it is better that the work should be edited from a single manuscript than not at all; and if at any future time we should be permitted to examine the copy now at Rome, it will be easy to give the results of the collation in an Appendix.

Influenced by these considerations, the Editor took occasion, from the union of the Archæological and Celtic Societies, to propose to the Council the immediate publication of this important work; and, to meet the objection on the score of expense, he suggested the expedient of printing it in parts or fasciculi, to be brought out from time to time, as the funds at the disposal of the Society may permit.

The volume now presented to the Society is the first instalment, issued in pursuance of this design. It contains the text of the Hymns exactly as it stands in the *Liber Hymnorum*, without any attempt at emendation, even where there is a manifest error of the scribe; and

this part of the work has been printed in a type which, although it does not pretend to be a fac-simile, will give the reader a very correct idea of the characters in which the MS. is written.

The gloss has been printed, not over the words or down the margin, as in the original (for this would be attended with considerable and needless expense), but separately, or in the Notes, in a manner which it is hoped will be sufficiently clear and accessible to the scholar;—and this is all that the Editor has aimed at.

The Notes are confined to the elucidation of the text, the verification of obscure references, the explanation of obsolete words, and the collection of such various readings as have resulted from the collation of other copies of the several Hymns, whenever such were accessible. When longer illustrations are necessary, they are given at the end of each Hymn, in the form of an Appendix, or Additional Notes; and it has been thought desirable to place these at the end of each Hymn, instead of at the end of the volume, in order that each fasciculus may be, as far as possible, complete in itself; and that the whole work, when finished and brought together, may be found to have proceeded on an uniform plan.

It has not been thought necessary to add to the bulk of the work by giving English translations of the Latin portions of it; but the Irish Hymns, notes, and glosses, are everywhere accompanied by an English translation. In the original MS. every word, whether Irish or Latin, is written in the only character known to the scribes of the time, namely, that which is now preserved in Ireland only, and which is known as the Irish letter. But in printing those glosses or scholia which are in Latin, it has been thought advisable, as superseding the necessity of an interpretation, to employ the ordinary Roman type, the Irish words or sentences which occur in the gloss being uniformly printed in the Irish character, and followed by an English translation.

The contents of the book will be more fitly described, and its age and character discussed, when the whole is completed. It should

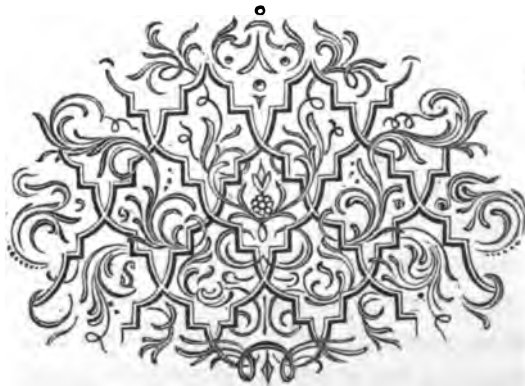
be observed, however, that although it is properly described as an Antiphonary, or Book of Hymns, it contains, nevertheless, several prose documents, such as the Epistle of our Lord to Abgarus, King of Edessa, the Prayer of St. John with which he rendered harmless the poisoned cup, &c.

In the present edition each Hymn or prose document is printed separately, and is preceded by a special introduction, pointing out the authorities, printed or manuscript, which have been employed in the illustration of it, with such remarks on its age and authorship as may seem to the Editor to be necessary.

The Editor is under deep obligations to Mr. Eugene Curry, without whose assistance the present work could not have been undertaken. He has also to return thanks to Dr. O'Donovan, and to the Rev. Dr. Reeves, of Ballymena, for much valuable information and many important suggestions during the progress of the work.

Special thanks are due to the Hon. Algernon Herbert, for many acute and learned remarks, of which the Editor has availed himself in several places.

J. H. T.



LIBER HYMNORUM.

I. THE ALPHABETICAL HYMN OF ST. SECHNALL, OR SECUNDINUS,
IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THE following Hymn was first published by Colgan, in 1647 (*Trias Thaum.* p. 210); but he has not said from what manuscript authority he derived his text. It was afterwards printed by Sir James Ware, in the Appendix to his *Opuscula S. Patricii* (1656), from a MS. which had belonged to the Convent of the Franciscan Friars of Donegal, but was then in the library of Archbishop Ussher¹. Ware had also, as he tells us, a MS. of later date ("manu recentiori exarato"), from which he has given some various readings in his margin².

The Hymn was next printed in 1713, in the *Antiphonarium Benchorensse*, published by Muratori, from a MS. of the eighth century³, written in the Monastery of Bangor, county of Down, and now preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

It was also reprinted from the editions of Ware and Colgan, by Dr. Joachim Laur. Villanueva, in his *Opuscula S. Patricii*, Dublin, 1835 (Append. No. II., p. 307). This learned writer, however, did not make use of any independent manuscript authority. It has been published also, copied exactly from Ware's edition, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Gallandius, tom. x. p. 183.

The text of the present edition is printed exactly as it stands in the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College, Dublin, the various readings of another manu-

¹ "Descriptus ille Hymnus alphabeticus, ex antiquo MS. Hymnorum, olim ad conventum ordinis minorum de observantia Donegallie pertinente, nunc in Bibliotheca instructissima Usseriana asservato."—*S. Patr. Opusc.* p. 150.

² "Est et aliud hujus Hymni exemplar, è quo, licet manu recentiori exarato, variantes

aliquas lectiones ad marginem apponere visum fuit."—*Ibid.* p. 151. This second copy was certainly not that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*.

³ Muratori, *Anecd. Ambros.* tom. iv. pp. 127–159; *Patav.* 1713; *Opere*, tom. xi. part. iii. pp. 217–251: *Arezzo*, 1770.

script copy, and of the above-named printed editions, being given in the Notes. This second MS. of the Hymn is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, or "Speckled Book," a great *Bibliotheca* of various ancient works in the Irish language, chiefly ecclesiastical, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Although written in the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, this copy was evidently transcribed from an older MS., and represents a text of a much earlier date. The text of the Hymn, both in the *Liber Hymnorum* and in the *Leabhar Breac*, is accompanied by a gloss and scholia, which are now printed for the first time. In some places, especially in the *Liber Hymnorum*, the gloss is obliterated, and is now illegible; in such cases, the hiatus is marked by dots. In a few instances, where the defect has been restored by conjecture, the words supplied are included between brackets.

It seems highly probable that the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, quoted repeatedly by Colgan, and from which he published the Hymn of St. Sechnall, was the same which is now preserved in the Franciscan College of St. Isidore, at Rome. That MS. belonged to the Convent of Donegal, with which Colgan was associated, and it is now found in a foreign Franciscan convent connected with Ireland, and in company with other MSS. which were undoubtedly in Colgan's hands.

The same volume may also possibly be the authority to which Sir James Ware refers, and from which he derived his text of this Hymn, for he states distinctly that the MS. which he employed was formerly in the possession of the Convent of Donegal.

There are, however, some difficulties in the way of this opinion; there is no evidence to show that the MS. now at St. Isidore's was ever a part of the library of Archbishop Ussher, as Ware tells us was the case with the MS. he used; which was, he says, *olim* the property of the convent of friars minors of Donegal, but was *then*, when he wrote, in the Ussher Library,—"*nunc* in Bibliotheca instructissima Usseriana conservato."

Again, the text, as printed by Ware, does not agree with that edited by Colgan as exactly as it might be expected to do, if they had both copied the same MS., but neither does it agree exactly with that of the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; so that, even though we should suppose this latter MS., of which we have no evidence, to have belonged to the Convent of Donegal before it came into the possession of Archbishop Ussher, it would not follow that it was the MS. to which Ware refers. It must, however, be observed that too

much stress ought not to be placed on discrepancies of this nature, as the greater part of them may have arisen from careless printing, in which Colgan's book abounds, or from inattention to the characters and contractions of the MS.

On the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession, or at least to have had access to, another copy of the Irish *Hymnarium*, which may have been that from which Ware transcribed the Hymn. In the Epistle to Vossius, prefixed to his book "*De Romanæ Ecclesiæ symbolo apostolico vetere*," Ussher speaks of a "*Codex vetustissimus hymnorum, partim Latino, partim Hibernico sermone scriptorum*," as being then in his possession; from this MS. he cites a passage in which the Athanasian Creed is said to have been composed by three bishops at the Nicene Council; and another in which the *Te Deum* is ascribed to one Nicetas. Neither of these statements is to be found in the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*, where the *Te Deum* is inscribed: "*Hæc est laus sanctæ Trinitatis, quam Augustinus et Ambrosius composuit*." The inference, therefore, is, that Ussher had before him a second copy of the *Hymnarium*; whether this was or was not the MS. now preserved at Rome, we have no means of determining. It would be interesting to know if that MS. asserts Nicetas to be the author of the *Te Deum*.

To avoid repetitions, the foregoing MSS. and printed editions have been referred to in the notes by letters of the alphabet, as follows:—

The <i>Liber Hymnorum</i> ,	H.
The <i>Leabhar Breac</i> ,	B.
Colgan,	C.
Muratori's edition of the <i>Antiphonarium Benchorense</i> ,	M.
Ware,	W.
Villanueva,	V.

The Hymns and other documents preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* are, for the most part, preceded each by an historical Introduction, giving the name of the author, with the date and occasion on which each was composed. No such Introduction, however, is prefixed to the following Hymn, which is the first in the volume, and has only the title (in rubric), "*Incipit ymnus sc̃i Patricii episcopi Scotorum*"¹. In Colgan's MS., however, there was a Pre-

¹ In the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, in prefaces, the title of this Hymn is "*Hymnus sancti Patritii Magistri Scotorum*."

face, of which he has given a Latin translation, probably abridged; and the copy of the Hymn in the *Leabhar Breac* has also one, never before published, which will be found, with an English translation and some explanatory remarks, in the Additional Notes.

The ornamented letter A, with which the Hymn in the MS. begins, was originally a very beautiful and elaborate specimen of ancient calligraphy, running down the whole margin of the page. It has suffered, however, very much by age and rough usage, and is in many places quite obliterated; this circumstance, together with its inconvenient length, has rendered it impossible to procure a satisfactory fac-simile of it, and therefore a letter, in a similar style of art, from the Book of Kells, has been substituted for it. All the other ornamented letters in the following pages are, however, exact representations of the illuminations of the *Liber Hymnorum*, from drawings by Dr. Aquilla Smith. In the original they are coloured with yellow, blue, and green.

Some further remarks on the following Hymn, which are deemed necessary for its illustration, will be found in the Additional Notes.



INCIPIT OMNIVS SANCTI PATRICII
EPISCOPI SCOTORVM.



UDITE omnes amantes deum sancta merita
viri in christo beati patricii episcopi

quomodo bonum ob actum simulatur angelis
perfectamque propter vitam aequatur apostolis

beata christi custodit mandata in omnibus
cuius opera repulgent clara inter homines

sanctumque cuius sequuntur exemplum mirificum
unde et in celis patrem magnificant dominum

GLOSS. H.—1. *Sancta merita*.—i. sancta opera. 2. *Patricii*.—i. patris civium. *Episcopi*.—i. super-speculator interpretatur. 3. *Bonum ob actum*.—i. caritatis et predicationis vel ieiunii et orationis. *Angelis*.—i. sanctis, ut dicitur [erunt sicut] an[ge]li. 5. *Custodit*.—i. Patricius. *Omnibus*.—i. operibus. 6. *Refulgent*.—i. ut dicitur in euangelio sic luceat [lux vestra coram hominibus . . .] 7. *Cuius*.—i. Patricii. *Sequuntur*.—i. homines. *Exemplum*.—i. ut dicitur exemplum dedi vobis ut quemadmodum [ego feci vobis ita et vos] faciatis. 8. *In celis*.—i. in ecclesiis. *Magnificant*.—i. bonis operibus . . . interioris . . .

GLOSS. B.—2. *Patricii*.—i. qui sedet ad latus regis, vel pater civium; patricius nomen gnaib la romani [nomen gradus apud Romanos] qui patricium regit. 3. *Bonum*.—Propter. *Simulatur*.—Similio, i. comparem. 4. *Apostolis*.—Apostolus i. missus interpretatur. 5. *Custodit*.—i. Patricius. *Mandata*.—i. evangelii. *Omnibus*.—i. operibus. 6. *Clara*.—i. ingna [wondrous]. *Inter homines*.—i. p[er]a b[er]amib [before men]. 7. *Sequuntur*.—i. homines. *Exemplum*.—Ut dicitur, sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera bona vestra, et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in celis est. 8. *Magnificant*.—i. magnum facientes homines, in nomine Domini.

1. *Deum*.—Dominum, C., which would be inconsistent with the rhythm, unless we read it *Domnum*, as a dissyllable.

2. *Patricii*.—Patrici, M.

3. *Simulatur*.—Similatur, W. M. V. There is a gloss over this word in H.,

CONSTANS IN DEI TIMORE ET FIDE IMMOBILIS
 super quem edificatur ut PETRUS ECCLESIA
 cuiusque apostolatium a deo SORTITUS EST
 IN CUIUS PORTAE ADVERSUS INFERNI NON PREVALENT

10

DOMINUS ILLUM ELEGIT UT DOCERET BARBARAS
 NATIONES UT PISCARET PER DOCTRINAE RETIA
 ut de seculo credentes traheret ad GRATIAM
 DOMINUMQUE SEQUERENTUR SEDEM AD AETHERIAM

15

Gloss. H.—9. *Constans*.—i. est vel fuit. 16. *Sequerentur*.—i. doctrina.

Gloss. B.—9. *Constans*.—i. fuit. *Fide*.—i. Trinitatis, ut dicit Paulus, fratres stabiles estote, et r. l. 10. *Quem*.—i. Petrum. *Petrus*.—Ut dicitur, tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam. Petrus agnoscens interpretatur, quicumque ergo in regnum celeste intrare desiderat, agnoscat Deum per fidem, ut Petrus. 13. *Illum*.—i. Patricium. *Barbaras*.—i. alienas interpretantur, quia sint alieni a Romana lingua. 14. *Piscaret*.—i. pisco, secundum veteres; piscor, piscaris, est hodie. 15. *Gratiam*.—i. ad fidem, vel celestium. 16. *Ad aetheriam*.—i. ad celestem sedem.

which, however, is so obliterated, as to be now illegible.

5. *Beata*.—Beati, V.

8. *Magnificat*.—Magnificat Deum, C.: Magnificat Deum, V. *Magnificat* is probably the true reading, if there be an allusion to Matt. v. 16, where the older Latin versions appear to have read *magnificent* for *glorificent*, and the passage is so quoted by many of the Fathers [see Sabatier, *in loc.*] "He [Patrick] keeps the blessed commands of Christ in all things. His good works shine illustrious amongst men. They [men] follow his holy and wonderful example, and thus magnify as their Lord the Father who is in heaven." The gloss over *magnificat* in H. was a long one, running down the margin, but it is now so effaced that the three words above given are all that are now legible.

9. *Timore*.—Amore, C.

10. *Quem*.—Quæ, M. *Petrus*.—Petrum, C. M. V. W. With the reading *Petrus* the meaning will be, "upon whom, as a second Peter, the Church is built;" or, "as it is upon Peter," if we read *Petrum*. The interpretation, "Petrus, agnoscens," in the Gloss B., is from St. Jerome (*De nominibus Hebraicis*). 11. *Cujusque*.—Scil. Ecclesiæ.

12. *Cujus*.—Quem, C. *Portæ*.—Porta, W. V. *Adversus*.—Adversum, M. The word *adversus* must here be taken as a substantive for *adversitates*, and *cujus* must be referred to *ecclesia* as its antecedent. "The Church, whose apostleship Patrick has received from God, to whose damage or injury the gates of hell prevail not."

14. *Ut piscaret*.—Et piscaret, M. Ut piscaretur, C. V., which would destroy

Electa christi talenta uendit euangelica
 quae hibernas inter gentes cum usuris exigit
 nauigii huius laboris tum operae pretium
 cum christo regni celestis possessurus gaudium 20

Fidelis dei minister insignisque nuntius
 apostolicum exemplum formamque praebet bonis
 qui tam uerbis quam et factis plebi praedicat dei
 ut quem dictis non conuertit actu prouocet bono

Gloss. B.—17. *Talenta*.—i. mandata. 19. *Nauigii*.—i. in impura pa na heclaiꝛi [viz. of the navigation of the Church]. 20. *Cum Christo*.—Sicut dominus ait in evangelio, ubi corpus fuerit illic congregabuntur aquile, ac si diceret aperte, ubi fuerit Christus secundum carnem, ibi erunt iusti, et sic cum ipse [leg. ipso] erunt in celo semper. 22. *Præbet bonis*.—i. pꝛecept ꝛ ꝑꝛocetul [by precept and teaching]. 24. *Dictis*.—i. o pꝛecept [by precept]. *Prouocet*.—i. ad fidem. *Bono*.—i. suo.

the rhythm. The allusion is evidently to Matt. iv. 19; Mark, i. 17: "The Lord hath chosen him to teach barbarous nations; to fish with the nets of doctrine, so as to draw from the world unto grace those who shall follow the Lord, &c."

15. *Ut*.—Et, M.

16. *Dominumque*.—Dominum qui, M. This reading is an evident improvement to the sense.

18. *Hibernas*.—Euernas, B.; Iernas, V. *Usuris*.—Usura, W.

19. *Nauigii*.—Nauigiis, M.; Navigi, B. On this word B. has the following marginal note: lꝛe in muir in bið ꝑꝛec-naipꝛ. lꝛi in noei in eclaiꝛ. lꝛe in luamaiꝛe ꝑꝛocetlaio ðop beip ðo ꝑꝛet bechad. lꝛe in ꝑꝛot bechad uita ꝑꝛetpetua. "The sea is the present world. The ship is the Church. The pilot is the preacher, who brings her to the port of life. The port is the life that is perpetual."

The construction of vv. 19, 20, is very difficult and obscure; *tum* seems used for *et*. It is probable that there is some corruption in this stanza, which the MSS. do not enable us to correct. *Tum*.—Dominum, C. This reading makes no sense, and is inconsistent with the rhythm; the cꝑyist seems to have mistaken *tum* for *ōm*.

20. *Possessurus*.—Possedit, C. V. The allusion in this distich is evidently to the parable of the talents: "He sells [or trades with] the chosen talents of Christ mentioned in the Gospel, which he exacts with usury [spiritual usury] amongst the Irish clans; and, as the reward of this voyage, as well as of his work or labour, he will hereafter possess, with Christ, the joy of the kingdom of heaven."

22. *Apostolicum*.—Apostolium, V. *Præbet bonis*.—C. omits *præbet*; V. omits *bonis*.

23. *Et*.—Omit, W. V. *Plebi*.—Omit, C. *Dei*.—Dominum, W. V.

Gloriam habet cum christo honorem in seculo
qui ab omnibus ut dei ueneratur angelus

25

quem deus misit ut paulum ad gentes apostolum
ut hominibus ducatum praeberet regno dei

humilis dei ob metum spiritu et corpore
super quem bonum ob actum requiescit dominus

30

cuiusque iusta in carne christi portat stigmata
in cuius sola sustentans gloriatur in cruce

Gloss. H.—25. *Habet*.—i. Patricius. *Seculo*.—i. hoc. 26. *Omnibus*.—i. hominibus. 27. *Ut Paulum*.—i. sicut Paulus misus est ad gentes, ita Patricius ad gentes Scottorum misus est. 29. *Humilis*.—i. fuit. *Ob metum*.—i. prae timore. 31. *Cuiusque*.—i. Christi. *Stigmata*.—i. na minna, i. virtutem sic onis et Paulus, Christi porto stigmata et vulnera domini nostri sique compono 32. *Sustentans*.—i. ap polomg.

Gloss. B.—25. *Seculo*.—i. hoc. 27. *Quem Deus*.—i. sicut Deus misit Paulum ad gentes, ita Patricium Scotis. 29. *Ob metum*.—i. prae timore. 31. *Cuiusque*.—i. Patricii, vel Christi. 32. *In cruce*.—i. hi cpoich na poaibe [in the cross of contempt].

24. *Actu*.—Fructu, M.

26. *Omnibus*.—Hominibus, B.

27. *Ut*.—Omit, B.

28. *Hominibus*.—Omnibus, V. *Ducatum*.—B. has the following note on this word: .i. a uerbo duco, duxi, dux, ducip, 7 ip ideo co noene duco, ducap, ducatur ap ngabail chepta. Ducatur ban ainn cpen popbeilb pangabap pop .iiii. buill, 7 ipe rin pil pund. "From the verb *duco*, *ducis*, comes *dux*, *ducis*, and in like manner *duco*, *ducas*, produces *ducatus*, in a passive signification. *Ducatus*, therefore, is a noun substantive, after the form which is found in the fourth declension; and this is the word that occurs here." Du Cange (Glossar. *Ducatus*, 5) shows that the word has been used in the sense of *safe conduct*, *guidance*, which is evidently its meaning in the text.

30. *Requiescit*.—Requiescet, B.

31. *Iusta*.—Juxta, C.; sua, W. The allusion here is to Gal. vi. 17. If we refer *cuiusque* to Christ, as the gloss suggests, there is an apparent tautology, and the preposition *in* is needlessly repeated in ver. 32. The meaning seems to be, that Patrick, "in his righteous flesh, bears the marks of Christ, and whilst bearing his own cross, glories only in the cross of Christ." The gloss in H. is but partly legible.

32. *Sustentans*.—Sustentante, C.V. *Sustendans*, B. The gloss in H. is ap polomg, enduring, sustaining. It will be understood that where the gloss is in Irish, without being followed by any English translation, the Irish is a literal translation of the Latin: *In cruce*.—Cruce, C.V. Here *in* is necessary to the metre. If the

Impiger credentes pascit dapibus celestibus
ne qui videntur cum christo in via deficiant

quibus erogatur ut panes. uerba euangelica
in cuius multiplicantur ut manna in manibus

35

Kastam qui custodit carnem ob amorem domini
quam carnem templum parauit sanctoque spiritui
a quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus
quam ut hostiam placentem tuam offert domino

40

Gloss. H.—33. *Dapibus*.—i. predicationis. 36. *Manna*.—i. ἡ πολλαπλασιάζουσα [increasing, growing]. 39. *Constanter*.—[Quia] non discedit ab illo Spiritu. 40. *Quam*.—i. carnem. *Offert*.—i. in virtutibus, in castitate et veritate, et esse absque morte peccati.

Gloss. B.—33. *Impiger*.—i. ἐρετικός. *Dapibus*.—i. prædicationibus. 34. *Videntur*.—i. ἰμμύνονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [in Christ's favour, or friendship]. *In via*.—i. in fide. 36. *In cuius*.—Sine sensu in est hic. *Manna*.—i. Manna ebraice; quid est hoc latine dicitur. 37. *Qui*.—i. Patricius. *Ob*.—i. ἕνεκα. 38. *Sanctoque*.—Supervacuum est que hic. *A quo*.—i. Spiritu. 39. *Constanter*.—Quia non discedit ab illo Spiritu. 40. *Quam*.—i. carnem. *Placentem*.—i. Deo non hominibus. *Vivam*.—i. virtutibus. *Offert*.—i. in castitate et veritate, et esse absque morte peccati.

in before *cuius* in this line be omitted,
cuius must be read as a trissyllable.

34. *Videntur*.—Ridentur, W. An evident mistake. *Deficient*.—Deficient, B. The allusion is to Matt. xv. 32.

35. *Ut*.—Omit, C. V.

36. *In cuius*.—W. and V. omit *in*, which would require that *cuius* should be read as a trissyllable. *Manna*.—The Irish gloss in H. over this word appears to have been intended for the word *multiplicantur*. There is a double reference both to our Lord's miracle and also to the manna in the wilderness,—“Full of zeal, he feeds the faithful with celestial repasts; lest those who are seen with Christ should faint by the way. To whom he gives as loaves the words of the Gospel, which are multiplied in their hands like the manna.”

—See Exod. xvi. 18.

37. *Kastam qui*.—Castum qui, B. Castamque, C. The *Liber Hymnorum* has the following note written as a gloss over this line, and continued down the margin:—“Ut dicit apostolus, unusquisque suum corpus servando castum Deo sanctificet et honoret” The remainder is illegible. The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 4.

38. *Sanctoque*.—The gloss B. asserts that the *que* is here superfluous; but it is necessary for the metre. The construction is, no doubt, very rude, but the meaning seems to be, “which flesh he hath also prepared as a temple for the Holy Ghost;” or, “[for Christ] and for the Holy Ghost.”

40. *Ut*.—Et, M. B. *Ut*, however, is evidently the true reading.

Lumenque mundi accensum ingens euangelicum
 IN CANDELABRO LEUATUM TOTI PULGENS SEculo
 CIUITAS REGIS MUNITA SUPRA MONTEM POSSITA
 COPIA IN qua EST multa quam dominus POSSIDET

Maximus nanque IN REGNO CELORUM VOCABITUR 45
 QUI quod uerbis docet sacris factis ADIMPLET bonis
 BONO PRECEDIT exemplo FORMAMQUE FIDELIUM
 MUNDOQUE IN CORDE HABET ad DEUM FIDUCIAM

Gloss. H.—41. *Lumenque*.—Lux sapientiæ orta mundo. 42. *Candelabro*.—Candelabrum, quasi f[erens] candelam, vel labrum candelæ. *Toti*.—Vel toto, inter veteres. 43. *Civitas*.—i. ecclesia sancta. *Regis*.—i. Christi. *Munita*.—i. virtutibus. 45. *Maximus*.—i. valde magnus, vel de suo genere, i. honorabilis. *Celorum*.—i. in ecclesia sancta. 46. *Adimplet*.—i. implebat actu quicquid sermone docebat. 48. *Mundoque*.—Ut dicitur beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

Gloss. B.—41. *Lumenque*.—Isidorus dicit, Lux ipsa substantia est, lumen quod a luce manet, i. candor. 42. *Candelabro*.—i. candelabrum, secundum Isidorum, quasi labrum candelæ. *Toti*.—Vel toto inter veteres. 43. *Civitas*.—i. est. *Regis*.—i. Patricii. *Montem*.—i. mons fructuosus est Christus. 44. *Copia*.—i. virtutum. *In qua*.—i. civitate. 45. *Maximus*.—i. peroptimus, vel permagnus, vel maximus sui generis. 46. *Adimplet*.—i. in coram ut Grigorio dictum est [the same thing that is said of Gregory]. implebat actu quicquid sermone docebat; sic Patricio contingit. 48. *Mundoque*.—i. in pure corde glan [in the pure heart].

41. *Lumenque*.—The gloss B. quotes Isidore of Seville: *Etymol.* lib. xiii. c. 10. "Lux, ipsa substantia: lumen, quod a luce manet, i. e. candor lucis. Sed hoc confundunt auctores." In the margin of B. there is this note:—" *Lumenque*, i. lumen sapientiæ elevavit mundo; ut dicitur in evangelio, nemo accendit lucernam nisi ponat eam super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domu sunt, nisi filius dei qui est Jesus Christus."

42. *Candelabro*.—Isidore is here again quoted in the gloss B., but not exactly. His words are:—"Candelabrum a candelis dictum, quasi candeliferum, quod candelam ferat." *Etymol.* lib. xx. c. 10. *Toti*.—Toto, M. The gloss seems to re-

cognise this as the older reading.

43. *Civitas*.—The author of the gloss in H. has mistaken the meaning of this passage. Patrick, not the Church, is here compared to "a fortified city of a king, set upon a hill, wherein is great abundance, whereof the Lord is owner."

44. *Est*.—Et, C. *Dominus*.—Deus, W. V. Inconsistent with the metre. As the text stands, the accent is on the second syllable of *Dominus*.

45. *Nanque*.—Namque, C. M. W.; quoque, V.

46. *Adimplet*.—The gloss in H., as also that in B., cite a line from the epitaph on S. Gregory's tomb, as given by Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 1), and by Joannes

NOMEN DOMINI AUDENTER ANNUNCIAT GENTIBUS
QUIBUS LAVACRI SALUTIS AETERNAM DAT GRATIAM 50

PRO QUORUM ORAT DELICTIS AD DEUM QUOTIDIE
PRO QUIBUS UT DEO DIGNAS IMMOLATQUE HOSTIAS

OMNEM PRO DIVINA LEGE MUNDI SPERNIT GLORIAM
QUE CUNCTA AD CUIUS MENSAM ESTIMAT CISCILIA
NEC INGRUENTI MOUETUR MUNDI HUIUS PULMINE 55
SED IN ADVERSIS LAETATUR CUM PRO CHRISTO PATITUR

Gloss. H.—52. *Hostias*.—i. spirituales. 54. *Que*.—vel qui. *Cuncta*.—i. munera. *Mensam*.—i. bochomur [by measurement].

Gloss. B.—49. *Audenter*.—i. co dāna [boldly]. 50. *Lavacri*.—i. baptismi, baptisma græce; tinctio latine dicitur; in qua tinctione omnes sordes, tum originales, tum actuales, lavantur. 51. *Quorum*.—i. gentium. 52. *Hostias*.—i. ut dicitur, Christus hostia et sacerdos; hostia secundum carnem, sacerdos, secundum spiritum; offerebatur secundum carnem. 54. *Cuncta*.—i. munera. *Ad cuius*.—i. legis. *Ciscilia*.—Ambrosius dicit, supercilium, i. super habundantia. Cilon verbum Græcum quod interpretatur habundantia. 55. *Ingruenti*.—i. on εἰσὶν ἡν πογνὰχ no πογνὸμβὰ [by noisy or heavy thunder]. 56. *In adversis*.—i. in tribulationibus. *Laetatur*.—i. qui. *Patitur*.—i. hic est qui patitur pro Christo, qui abnegat semetipsum et tollit crucem suam cotidie.

Diaconus (*Vit. S. Greg.* lib. iv. c. 68):

"Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,
Esset ut exemplum, mystica verba loquena."

47. *Precedit*.—Procedit, C. *Formam-que*.—Formaque, C. V.

48. *Deum*.—Dominum, C.

49. *Nomen Domini*.—Nomenque Dei, M. *Annuntiat*.—Adnuntiat, M.

50. *Lavacri*.—Lavacris, M.

51. *Quorum*.—Quarum, W. V. B. *Delictis*.—Dilictis, B. *Deum*.—Dominum, C. *Quotidie*.—Om. V. Cotidie, B. M.

52. *Immolatque*.—Ymolatque, B. In this passage *ut* and *que* seem both redundant, yet both are required by the metre.

54. *Que*.—Qui, M. W. V. *Cuius*.—Ejus, W. V. Christi, C. *Mensam*.—The Irish gloss in H. seems to mean that this word

ought to be taken in the sense of *mensuram*: "He despises all the glory of the world, for the sake of the divine law; in comparison of which he also estimates all things as chaff." But perhaps we ought to read,—"*Cuncta ad cuius mensuram*," omitting "*que*." *Ciscilia*.—Quisquilias, C. V. Quisquilia, M. W. I have not been able to verify the reference to "Ambrosius" in the gloss B. On the left-hand margin of H. is this note: "*Ciscilia est, ut dicit Hieronymus in tractatu Isaiæ profetæ, Ciscilia sunt purgamenta frumenti, .i. cōit [chaff]; ut Isidorus dicit, Cisciliæ sunt stipulæ inmixtæ surculis et foliis aridis, sunt autem purgamenta terrarum quod est verius.*" I cannot find the passage here quoted in the Commentary of St. Je-

PASTOR bonus ac fidelis gregis euangelici
 quem deus dei elegit custodire populum,
 suamque pascere plebem diuinis dogmatibus
 pro qua ad christi exemplum suam tradidit animam 60

Quem pro meritis saluator prouexit pontificem
 ut in celesti moneret clericos militia
 celestem quibus annonam erogat cum uestibus
 quod in diuinis impletur sacrisque apparibus

Gloss. H.—63. *Annonam*.—i. lon [provision] .i. ab hora nona dicta. 64. *Affatibus*.—i. for, faris,i. preceptis dei.

Gloss. B.—57. *Pastor bonus*.—i. pastor bonus est qui est secundum Christum, qui dixit, Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam pro ovibus meis. 59. *Pascere*.—i. no pappab [or satiate (with food)]. *Dogmatibus*.—Dogma, .i. preceptum. 60. *Qua*.—i. plebe, .i. sicut dicit apostolus, utinam anathema essem pro fratribus meis. 62. *Clericos*.—i. sortiales. 63. *Annonam*.—i. loon [provision]. 64. *Affatibus*.—i. for, faris, fatus; affor, affaris, affatus.

rome on Isaiah, but in his Commentary on Amos, viii. 6, he has the words, "Quisquilias et purgamenta frumenti vendatis pauperibus." The other quotation is from Isidorus Hispalensis (*Orig.* xvii. c. 6) :—"Quisquilias stipulae immixtae surculis et foliis aridis. Sunt autem purgamenta terrarum." In the right-hand margin of H. there is this note:—Circilium. .i. bpoth uel bpothpcoa .i. ppe do cuipib ino aippe do chum [cipe]. No circannan .i. caeicig Copmaic hui Cuinn. Cannan nomen eiur, 7 ip de po [cum]baigeb .i. bin cilcaip no bit dap caip in mil po [maib]cha and. No circilium .i. bpaie .i. cilium ciuam in bpaie. Circilium in[pinna] glenair faip, 7 bpoip, 7 quod ueipur ep. 7 bin cipeb bin rein [he] n mipte la Patraic in comparatione diuine legip. "*Ciscilium*, .i. bpoth, a

particle, or bpothpcoa, i. e. the rubbish which the sea casts on the shore. Or *Ciscannan*, i. e. the winnowing sheet of Cormac, grandson of Conn. *Cannan* was its name, and it was made of the *cilcas* [long coarse hair] which grew on the bellies of the animals that were killed there. Or *Ciscilium*, i. e. eyelid; i. e. *Cilium* is the edge of the eyelid; *Ciscilium*, the hair that adheres to it and breaks it: and this is more true. But whichever of these it may be, it does not matter for Patrick, in comparison of the divine law." The Cormac mentioned in this curious note is the celebrated Cormac Mac Art, King of Ireland, who died A. D. 266, according to the chronology of the Four Masters.

55. *Fulmine*.—Flumine, W. V.

56. *Cum*.—The gloss over *latatur* in B. was, perhaps, intended to have been over

REGIS NUNTIVS INVITANS CREDENTES AD NUPCIAS
QUI ORNATUR VESTIMENTO NUPTIALE INDUTUS

65

QUI CELESTE AURIT VINUM IN VASIS CELESTIBUS
PROPINANSQUE DEI PLEBEM SPIRITUALI POCULO

SACRUM INVENIT TESAURO SACRO IN VOLUMINE
SALVATORISQUE IN CARNE DIETATEM PREIUDIC

70

QUEM TESAURO EMIT SANCTIS PERFECTISQUE MERITIS
ISRAEL VOCATUR HUIUS ANIMA VIDENS DEUM

Gloss. H.—65. *Nuptias*.—i. regni celestis. 67. *In vasis*.—i. in sanctis. 68. *Propinansque*.—i. an do dæled [what was distributed]. *Spirituali*.—i. doctrina. 69. *Sacrum*.—i. Deum. *Tesaurum*.—i. Christum. *Volumine*.—i. in evangelio. 70. *Dietatem*.—i. quia creditur Christum filium Dei esse secundum divinitatem. 71. *Meritis*.—i. jejuniis et oratione et elemosinis et predicatione Domini. 72. *Israel*.—i. vir mente videns Deum.

Gloss. B.—65. *Nuptias*.—id est, regni celestis, ut dicitur, vos similes estote hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando revertatur ad nuptias, ut cum venerit et pulsaverit, statim aperiant ei. 67. *Vinum*.—i. vinum doctrine evangelii. *In vasis*.—i. in sanctis. 68. *Propinansque*.—i. an do dæled [what was distributed] propino per unum .n. scribitur, ut Eotiscus dicit. 69. *Tesaurum*.—i. Christum, vel præmium, vel misterium evangelii. *Volumine*.—i. in scriptura divina, vel in evangelio. 70. *Dietatem*.—i. quia creditur Christum filium Dei esse secundum divinitatem. 71. *Tesaurum*.—i. regnum celeste.

cum, indicating another reading, "Qui pro Christo," for "Cum pro Christo."

57. *Ac*.—Et, M. *Evangelici*.—Evangelicæ, B.

60. *Tradidit*.—Tradit, M. This reading is necessary for the metre, and more consistent with the style of the writer, who puts all the acts of Patrick in the present tense.

62. *Militia*.—Militiæ, C., which is probably a mistake of the press. The word *militia* was frequently used for office, dignity, ministry.—See Du Cange in v. *Miles*.

65. *Nuptias*.—This is an evident allusion to the parable of the Marriage Feast, in Matt. xxii.; but the gloss in B. seems to understand it as referring to Luke, xii. 36.

66. *Nuptiale*.—Nuptiali, M. W. C. B. V.

67. *Aurit*.—Haurit, M. C. W. V. *Vinum*.—In the margin of B. there is the following note on this word:—"Beda dicit, *Bria* vas vinarium est; unde ebrius est qui de bria bibit, sobrius e contrario dicitur, qui quasi sibrius, i. sine bria, i. sine vino." I have not been able to find this passage in the printed works of Bede.

68. *Propinans*.—The gloss on this word in B. quotes "Eotiscus," that is, I presume, Eutyches or Eutychus, the grammarian; but in his work *De discernendis conjugationibus*, as edited by Putschius, I do not find the words here quoted. *Spirituali poculo*.—Spiritalis poculum, M. Spirituali poculo, W. V.

70. *Dietatem*.—Pietatem, C. Deitatem, M. W. V. This last is evidently the true

TESTIS DOMINI FIDELIS IN LEGE CATHOLICA
CUIUS UERBA SUNT DIUINIS CONDITA ORACULIS

NE HUMANE PUTRENT CARNES ESSAEQUE A UERMIBUS 75
SED CELESTE SALLIUNTUR Sapore AD VICTIMAM

VERUS CULTOR ET INSIGNIS AGRI EUANGELICI
CUIUS SEMINA UIDENTUR CHRISTI EUANGELIA

QUAE DIUINO SERIT ORE IN AURES PRUDENTIUM
QUORUMQUE CORDA AC MENTES SANCTO ARAT SPIRITU 80

GLOSS. H.—74. *Condita*.—i. pailce [salted] a verbo quod est condio, condia, iiii. conjug. 75. *Essaeque*.—i. cnaithe [eaten, gnawed] a verbo quod est edo, edor, essus essa, essum, participii passivi. *Uermibus*.—i. scientiae. 77. *Agri*.—i. cordia. 80. *Arat*.—i. aipib.

GLOSS. B.—73. *Testis*.—i. est. *Fidelis*.—i. caipipe [faithful]. *Catholica*.—i. universalis interpretatur. 74. *Condita*.—i. pailce [salted], a verbo condio, condia, pop. iiii. choibne [of the fourth conjugation]. 75. *Putrent*.—i. a verbo putro, pop. cet choibne [of the first conjugation]. 76. *Celeste*.—i. doctrina Dei. *Sapores*.—i. corporis et anime. 77. *Verus*.—i. est Patricius. *Agri*.—i. ager est corpora fidelium. 78. *Semina*.—i. semen est precepta evangelii. 79. *Prudentium*.—i. prudentia quasi providentia.

reading. *Prævidit*.—Pervidit, C. Pervidet, M.

72. *Israel*.—Israhel, M. Hisrael, B. *Hujus*.—Ejus, B. *Anima*.—St. Jerome, in the book *De interpretatione nominum Hebraicorum* (if it be his), explains the name *Israel*,—"Vir, aut mens, videns Deum," as if it had been in the Hebrew—

יֵשׁ רֵאָח אֱלֹ

But he afterwards retracts this, and gives the true meaning, "princeps cum Deo." (*Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* xxxii. 27, 28.) In the Greek interpretations of Hebrew names, published by Vallarsius (*Opp. S. Hieron.* tom. iii. part 2), some of which are attributed to Origen, *Israel* is explained *νοῦς ὁπῶν Θεόν*. There is the following note in B. over this word:—*Ippael* indapa can ip bepillaebach, et uir pugnans cum Deo interpr. in can ele

ip tpe pillaebach, ꝛ ip uir uidens deum interpr. "Israel is sometimes a dissyllable, and signifies *vir pugnans cum Deo*; another time it is a trisyllable, and signifies *vir videns Deum*."

74. *Condita*.—Candida, M.

75. *Putrent*.—Putant, M. *Essaeque*.—Esæque, C. Escaque, W. V. Aesseque, M. In B. there is the following note on this word:—i. essus, a verbo edo, et edor, a cépta; essum et essus ap angabail chepta; poblap cennuil mto i. essus, essa, essum. "*Essus* is from the verb *edo* and *edor*, in the passive. *Essum* and *essus* the passive participle. The genders change in it thus, *essus, essa, essum*."

76. *Celeste*.—Coelesti, M. W. V. *Salliuntur*.—Alleantur, M. Sallientur, C. Sallientur, W. V. The allusion is evidently to Matt. v. 13. *Ad victimam*.—In

S MNOS cum apocalypsi psalmosque cantat dei
 quosque ad edificandum dei tractat populum
 quam legem in trinitate sacri crebit nominis
 tribusque personis unam docetque substantiam

85

Gloss. H.—86. *Tractat.*—i. imluabit. 87. *Quam legem.*—i. moꝛ nꝝ ðneþer legem sacꝛi nominiꝛ, quod eꝛt tꝛinitatꝛ [a great thing, that he believes the law of the sacred Name, which is the Trinity]. 88. *Docetque.*—Supervacua est que hic.

Gloss. B.—85. *Ymnos.*—i. laudes. 86. *Tractat.*—i. imluabit psalmum ꝛ cꝛmnum ꝛ abcolypꝛ bo chumtach poꝛuitꝛine. 87. *Quam legem.*—i. moꝛ nꝝ ðneþer legem sacꝛi nominiꝛ quod eꝛt tꝛinitatꝛ. 88. *Docetque.*—Supervacua est que hic.

The gloss in B. appears to derive *diabolus* from δα and βουλῆ; or, perhaps, the meaning is, that *diabolus* is here to be understood of evil counsellors. *Obsolvet.*—Obsolvit, B. W. Absolvit, M. C. V.

86. *Tractat.*—The Gloss. H. explains this word by the Irish imluabit, “he puts in motion, announces, publishes;” and the Gloss B., using the same word, says,—“He publishes the Psalm, and Hymn, and Apocalypse, to build up the people of God.” The words poꝛuitꝛine are very obscure, but I take them to mean popuil tꝛine, “the people of the Trinity,” or “the people of God,” as in the Latin. *Tractare* signifies “concionari, exponere, explicare disserendo” (Du Cange, Gloss. *Tractare*, 2); and *Tractator* “qui de rebus seriis docte et erudite tractat, scribit, loquitur, disputat.” “Tractatores dicti præsertim librorum sacrorum interpretes, qui de rebus sacris tractant.” (Du Cange, in v.)

87. *Quam.*—Quem, V. C.

88. *Tribusque.*—Tribuque, B.

89. *Et.*—Ac. B.

90. *Sine intermissione.*—Over this word

we find the following note in H.,—“Augustinus dicit, si quis in unaquaque hora certa tempora orandi observat sine intermissione orat. .i. celebrat cec̃h tꝛacha [celebrates at all the [canonical] hours]. And in B.,—“Augustinus dicit, si in unaquaque die certa tempora celebrationis observaverit, sine intermissione orat.” The passage of St. Augustine here referred to is probably the following,—*De Hæres.* n. 57 (ed. Bened. t. viii. col. 19), where, speaking of the Euchtæ or Massaliani, he says,—“Nam cum Dominus dixerit *Oportet semper orare, et non deficere;* et apostolus *Sine intermissione orate*, quod sanissime sic accipitur, ut nullo die intermittantur certa tempora orandi; &c.”

91. *Percepturus.*—Præcepturus, W. *Premium.*—Præmia, C.

92. *Regnabit.*—Regnavit, B. In B. there is the following note over this word:—“.i. regnabit Patricius super Scotos in die iudicii; ut dicitur Apostolis, sedebitis et vos super .xii. sedes, iudicantes .xii. tribus Israel.” This is an allusion to the privilege granted to S. Patrick of being himself the Judge of the Irish people, in

SONA DOMINI PRECINCTUS DIEBUS ET NOCTIBUS
SINE INTERMISSIONE DEUM ORAT DOMINUM 90
cuius ingentis laboris percepturus premium
cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super israel
audite omnes

in memoria eterna erit iustus
ab auditione mala non timebit.

patricii laudes semper dicamur
ut nos cum illo defendat deus.

hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri
veni sancte patricii saluor nos facere.

Gloss. H.—89. *Zona*.—i. castitate. *Diebus*.—i. in prosperis. *Noctibus*.—i. in adversis. 90. *Super Israel*.—i. super animas videntes Deum.

Gloss. B.—89. *Zona*.—i. castitate. *Precinctus*.—i. imchmoelca [surrounded].

the Day of Judgment:—Thus the angel who appeared to him in the bush, and announced to him, “*datæ sunt tibi petitiones quas petisti*,” adds “*Quarta petitio est, ut Hibernienses omnes in die iudicii a te judicentur, ut videlicet eos quibus Apostolus fuisti, iudices; sicut dictum est a Domino ad Apostolos; sedebitis super sedes duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.*”—*Vñ. S. Patr. auctore Probo*, lib. ii. c. 33. The author of the Hymn, however, knew nothing of this legend; he says merely that Patrick, “as the reward of his great labour, shall reign with the Apostles a saint over Israel.” *Sanctus*.—Sanctis, W. V. *Israel*.—Israhel, M.

Audite omnes.—Audite et rl., B. These are the words with which the Hymn begins, and are added here according to the usual practice in all collections of Irish poems, to mark the end of the Hymn, and to show that the verses that follow are no part of it.

In memoria eterna.—The three foregoing verses or antiphons, although written by the original scribe of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and at the same time as the rest of the Hymn, are not in the round capital letters of the text, but in an angular character, which occurs repeatedly throughout the volume, and which we have endeavoured to represent by a dif-

ference of type. The first of these antiphons is from Ps. cxi. 7; and the last is taken from the story told by the biographers of St. Patrick, of his having heard, when in Britain (or, according to others, at Rome), the voice of Irish children, crying "Veni sancte puer Patricii, et inter nos ambula." See *Vit. Tripart.*, part i. c. 30; *Jocel.* c. 20; and Fiech's Hymn, where the scholiast, as printed by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 5), has this note:—"Ipse Celestinus, quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium. Infantes autem de quibus hic sermo est, vocabantur Crebrea et Lessa [called Lassara, *Vit. Trip.* ii. 86] duæ filiæ Gleranni filii [Cumi]nenii; et hodie coluntur ut sanctæ, et ab ipso Patricio erant baptizatæ: et in Ecclesia de Forcland juxta Muadium fluvium ad occidentem, requiescunt. Quæ autem tunc in ventre matris existentes dicebant erant hæc, *Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te.* Et hæc sæpius ab eis decantata audiebantur per Hiberniam totam, vel usque ad ipsos Romanos."

These antiphons are doubtless a portion of some ancient office of St. Patrick; but they vary considerably in the MSS.

and editions of this Hymn. In the *Antiph. Benchorensis*, they are given thus:

"Patricius episcopus, oret pro nobis omnibus,
Ut deleantur protinus, peccata que commisimus.
Patrici laudes semper dicamus,
Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus."

In the *Leabhar Breac* the first two only are given, as in the text, that beginning *Hibernenses omnes* being omitted; and the word "Or̃." i. e. *Oratio*, or *Oremus*, being inserted before *In memoria eterna*.

In Colgan's edition they are given thus:—

"Patrici laudes semper dicam [read dicamus]
Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus.

Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,
Veni Sancte Patrici, salvos nos facere.

Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus,
Ut deleantur protinus peccata que commisimus."

Ware's copy does not appear to have had them at all, or at least he does not give them.

In H. there is the following gloss:—

Justus.—i. Patricius, vel unusquisque.

Ab auditione mala.—i. Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.

Ut nos cum illo.—i. Hibernenses.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The historical Preface to the Hymn.

THE copy of this Hymn, with which the Liber Hymnorum begins, has no historical introduction or argument, such as we find prefixed to the great majority of the other Hymns in that MS. The initial letter is most elaborately ornamented, and occupies the whole of the left-hand margin of the page; there is also the rubrical title (of which there is no other example in the book)—“*Incipit Ymnus Scti Patricii episcopi Scotorum.*” It is probable, however, that the MS. may have lost a leaf at the beginning in which the Preface was contained.

Colgan's copy had a Preface, which he has published in a Latin translation, under the title of “*Præfatio veteris anonimi.*”—*Trias. Thaum.*, p. 211. It has been thought desirable to insert this preface here, as Colgan's work is now extremely scarce and costly.

“PREFATIO VETERIS ANONIMI.”

AUDITE OMNES, &c. Secundinus filius Restituti, de Longobardis Italia, et Darerca sororis S. Patricii, composuit hunc Hymnum. Secundinus Romanum nomen ejus fuit: sed illud Hiberni verterunt in Sechnald. Locus in quo erat compositus, est Ecclesia Domnach-Sechnald. i. Basilica Secundini, appellata. Tempore Loegarii filii Neill, Hiberniæ regis, fuit compositus. Vel in S. Patricii encomium, vel causa pacis inter ipsum et S. Secundinum reconciliandæ, fertur compositus. Cum enim quadam vice quidam alii viri Sancti, quorum ipse interfuit familiari colloquio, S. Patricium magnis encomiis extollerent, S. Secundinus dixisse fertur:—Ita Patricius esset optimus, nisi charitatem parum prædicaret; per hoc solum intendens, si S. Patricius piam liberalitatem, seu bonorum temporalium in pios usus largitionem prædicasset, multo plures possessiones et prædia in usus et dotationem ecclesiarum prona populi devotione fore conferenda. Sed verbum illud ut prolatum est, delatum ad ejus aures, displicuit Patricio veræ charitatis typo, et eximio cultori; qui et respondit:—Propter charitatem, parcius charitatem prædico; nam post me multi viri eximii meritis et sanctitate illustres in hac insula florebut, qui populi piis largitionibus et obsequiis indigebunt, quibus et ea ego relinquo. Tunc agnitâ culpâ, et petitâ veniâ, Patri, vero charitatis speculo, reconciliatus filius, composuit hunc Hymnum, qui primus in Hibernia et secundum ordinem Alphabeticum factus est. Viginti tribus capitulis seu rhythmis constat; et rhythmus quisque quatuor lineis: linea vero

quindecim syllabis. Hymno iam composito S. Secundinus, volens illum S. Patricio ostendere, ait: Hymnum composui, in laudem cujusdam viri sancti, adhuc in carne degentis, quem quæso dignetur Vestra Paternitas audire. S. Patricius respondit se quidem libenter audire Dominum laudari in operibus servorum suorum, seu quæ ipse ob merita servorum operatur. S. vero Secundinus, silentio præteriens primum istius Hymni versiculum, in quo nomen S. Patricii continetur (ne forte Magistri, laudes humanas exosi, indignationem incurreret), a secundo incepit, cujus initium est, *Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus*. Et sic in recitatione hymni progreditur, usque ad alium versum, qui incipit *Maximus in regno celorum*. S. vero Patricius, hoc audiens, ait; Quomodo de homine dici potest quod sit *Maximus in regno celorum*? S. Secundinus respondit, Pro positivo hic ponitur superlativus. Postea Hymno usque ad finem recitato, insinuat illum in laudem ipsius viri Dei fuisse a se compositum, devotamque se expectare mercedem. Verus popularis auræ spector, licet factum displicuerit, nolens tamen pii discipuli devotum reprobare studium, respondit se ex clementia Salvatoris expectare eam mercedem, ut quicumque mane et vespere illum Hymnum devote recitaret, felicem exitum et præmium gloriæ accepturus sit. Hanc, inquit Secundinus, mercedem accepto: sed quia Hymnus longus est, nec facile quisque potest totum memoriæ commendare, optarem eandem gratiam concedendam, eius partem recitanti. Consequetur etiam, inquit Patricius, recitans tres posteriores ejus versus &c."

The copy of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar breac*, is also preceded by a similar Preface or Introduction in the Irish language, which has never hitherto been published. It is essentially the same as that translated by Colgan, but it contains also some matter, which was either not to be found in Colgan's copy, or which he may have deemed it expedient to omit^a. It is, therefore, here given in the original, together with an English translation, without any mutilation; and some notes are added, to render it more intelligible to the reader.

Audite omnes. Locut huius inmi .i. Domnach Sechnaill. ⁊ ipe in Sechnall pin do rigne hunc innum do Patraic.

Patraic umorpo, do bnectarb h-Ercuaide a bunabar. Calpurnio annm a athar. Fotaib annm a fenathar, deocham atcomnaic ríbe. Conchepp, umorpo, a ma-éair. Lupait ⁊ Tigruir, a bi fíair.

batar bin, .iiii. nomina for Patraic .i. Succat a annm ic a chuircib. Cothrige

Audite omnes. Locus hujus Hymni, .i. Domnach Sechnaill^b. And it was that same Sechnall that composed this Hymn in honour of Patrick.

Now Patrick, in his origin, was of the Britons of Ercluaide^c. Calpurn was the name of his father; Fotaic^d the name of his grandfather, who was a deacon. Concheas^e was his mother, Lupait and Tigris his two sisters.

Patrick had four names; viz. Succat was his name with his parents. Cothrige^f was his name when

^a *To omit.*—Colgan's version of the Preface ends with "&c.," which seems to imply some omissions.

^b *Domnach Sechnaill.*—That is, "The place where this Hymn was composed was Domhnach Sechnaill," the *Dominica*, or Church of St. Sechnall, now Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath.

^c *Ercluaide.*—Or *Alcluaic*, the Rock of Clyde. See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 170, col. 2, n. 2.

^d *Fotaic.*—Or Potitius.

^e *Concheas.*—Probably *Concessa*.

^f *Cothrige.*—The author of the very ancient Life of St. Patrick, which Colgan has placed second (and which he attributes to a junior Patrick, a disciple of the great St. Patrick), writes this name *Quadriga*. He says, c. 12, "Illic [*sc.* in regione Dalaradia] *Quadriga* nomen accepit, quia equorum quatuor domibus serviebat. Et erat quadrimomius:

a ainm dia m-bui oc fognam do óechruir. Magoniur a ainm o German. Patriciur a ainm a Papa Celestino.

Pochunb, umorpo, cuirdeota Patraio in Erin. Ir amlaib ro porcoemnacair .i. Seacht meo Seóctmaide níg bnean batar por longar, co nup opeutar Airmorico Lecha. Do ecomnacair bneam do bneanab h-Érecluae doib in can rin i n-Airmorico Lecha. Opea h-iruibiu Calpurn mac Fotaib athair Patraio, i no gabab iaram Patraio i a bi fuaib andrin. Dollocar iaram meo Seóctmaide por mair doóum n-Érenn. Renair iaram [Lupait] indrin .i. h-i Conallib Murrémmi, i pencear Patraio fua Mliuc mac ui buain i n-Dal araibe i fua a chruir m-brachar, i no penrac a bi Maip i Conallib Murrémmib, i no ma fuaib doib.

Cechrap, umorpo, por oennang-rim Pátraio, i oen ósbride Mliuc. comib ar rin no écrum in n-ainm ir Cothrige. Iarim ní no fognad-rum do checharéirib. Oc donmaip, umorpo, Mliuc oop ba mog ierach h-e, por oenbaig ón crup aile, conup fógnab ó a oenup co oen .uif. m-bliabam, po ber na n-ébraibe, i nó óer mor n-ímmib h-i n-ósch-ruib flébi Mip i n-Dal araibe, oo ingair muoc Mliuc.

Geomair tra oo n-aoca Mliuc pír n-óib-

he was serving four [masters]. Magonius was his name given by St. German. Patricius was his name given by Pope Celestine.

The cause^b of Patrick's coming to Erin. This is the way it happened; viz. the seven sons of Sechtmaidhe, king of Britain, that were in banishment, ravaged Armoric-Leatha. They happened to come upon a party of the Britons of Ercluae on that occasion in Armoric-Leatha. Calpurn, son of Fothaid, Patrick's father, was killed there, and Patrick and his two sisters were taken captive there. The sons of Sechtmaidhe went afterwards over the sea to Erin; and Lupait was sold there in Conaille Muirtheimhne; and Patrick was sold to Miliuc, son of Ua Buain, in Dal-Araidhe, and to his three brothers; and they sold his two sisters in Conaille Muirtheimhne, but they did not know it.ⁱ

Four persons purchased Patrick, and Miliuc was one of them; and from this he had the name of Cothrige. Afterwards he did not serve four houses; but when Miliuc saw that he was a faithful servant, he purchased him from the other three, so that he served him alone to the end of seven years, according to the custom of the Hebrews; and he suffered much hardship in the wilderness of Sliabh Mis in Dal Araidhe, tending the swine of Miliuc.

It happened at that time that Miliuc saw a vi-

nam primum *Succet* vocatus est: a serviendo vero quatuor domibus *Quotirche* vocabulum sumpsit, et eis quatuor dividibus cum omni cordis devotione servivit." See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 17, note 15. See also the Tripartite Life, lib. i. c. 17 (*ibid.* p. 119). S. Fiech, in his Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick, gives the same interpretation of this name:

batar ile Cothraige
ceacair trebe dia fognad.

All were [called] Cothraige
Who served four families.

And see the scholiast's note on this passage, n. 6.

^c *Magonius*.—The scholiast on St. Fiech's hymn interprets this name, "magis agens quam ceteri monachi."—*Colgan. ubi supra*.

^b *The cause*.—This is apparently from the Tripartite Life, l. i. c. 16; where, however, the King of Britain is called *Fectmagius*. The old scholiast on the hymn of St. Fiech (n. 5) also gives this King the equivalent name of *Factmudius*; but Sechtmaidhe, or Septimius, is probably the true name. The Irish p and r are easily confounded. Probus (l. 12) calls him *Rethmitus*.

ⁱ *They did not know it*.—"Nec Patricius quidquam de sororum, nec illas de fratris servitute sciverunt."—*Vit. Trip., ubi supra*.

nur faciem suam, ⁊ nō epoplaíóce a noíre
bó iaríon, ⁊ nō apleg in m-baithir, in tí nap
róglaimm lictir niam.

Tempus haucem, .i. loegaire mac Néill
níg enenn. Caura, ap molab Patraic, ap
arbert Sechnall fíu Patraic, cum bó
gén-ra molab buic. Arbert Patraic, ní h-aíl
dam-ra mo molab im bechaib. Díxir Sech-
nall. Non interrogavi utrum faciam, sed
quando faciam. Díxir Patraic, ní faciar
venit tempus .i. ap nō fíu Patraic nob
focur aimmpir a ecechta.

Sechnall .i. mac Repricitur, íre bó nígne
hunc innum bó Patraic; ap bálta eíreom
bó Patraic, ⁊ fíluir íoríoríu Patraic h-e
beor, ⁊ bó longbardaib lethá bó; ut díxir
Eochaid ua Flannucan.

Sechnall mac uí bairb in buaba.
buab fep m-betha.
bó íil glan gairg gile bacha
longbardaib lethá.

Longobardi dicti sunt eo quod habent
longam barbam.

Secundinus pecanr dílicta aliorum uel
recebenr ípre a dílictir mteíppretatur.

In can era bóí Sechnall oc benam mb
immuín-í, ír anb bó pala oenach bó benam
h-í uaprab Sechnall, co n-bechur o Sech-

Gorianus faciem suam; and then his eyes were
opened, and he read the baptismal office,—the man
that had never learned a letter.

Tempus autem^m; viz. when Loeghaire, son of
Niall, was king of Erinn. Causaⁿ to praise
Patrick. Sechnall said to Patrick, "When shall I
make a hymn of praise for thee." Patrick said, "I
desire not to be so praised during my life." Sechnall
answered, "Non interrogavi utrum faciam, sed quando
faciam." Patrick said, "Si facias venit tempus," i. e.
because Patrick knew that the time of his [Sech-
nall's] death was at hand^o.

Sechnall, viz. the son of Restitutus, was he who
made this Hymn in honour of Patrick; for he was
a disciple of Patrick, and he was also the son of
Patrick's sister; and he was of the Longobards of
Letha, ut dixit Eochaidh O'Flannagan^p.

Sechnall, son of Ua Baird, the gifted,
The most gifted of living men,
Of the race of the pure, fierce, white-coloured
Longobards of Letha.

Longobardi dicti sunt eo quod habent longam
barbam^a.

Secundinus, secans delicta aliorum, vel secedens
a delictis, interpretatur.

Now, at the time when Sechnall was composing this
hymn, it happened that a fair was about to be held
at Sechnall's place, and Sechnall went to prohibit

^m *Tempus*.—That is, the time when the hymn was
composed.

ⁿ *Causa*.—That is, the cause or object of writing
the hymn.

^o *At hand*.—This answer of St. Patrick is thus
given by Jocelin, c. 177:—"Si tamen id omnino
cordi tuo infixum fuerit, quod facere disponis, fac
citius, quia mors tibi adest in januis. Omnium
enim episcoporum, qui sunt in Hibernia, de seculo
primus migrabit."—Cf. *Vit. Trip.*, Part iii. c. 89.
(*Colgan*, p. 165).

^p *Eochaidh O'Flannagan*.—This writer is quoted
by the Four Masters at the year 987; and they re-
cord his death at A. D. 1003, where they call him

"Archinneach of Lis Aoidhedh [the fort of guests],
of Armagh, and of Cluan Fiachna [now Clonfeacle],
and historian of Ireland (raoi rendúra gaoibel)."

^a *Longam barbam*.—This is the interpretation
which Paulus Diaconus (*De gestis Longobardorum*,
lib. i. c. 9), gives as certain. But others maintain
that the name Longobard signifies, more probably,
Long-spear, the word *Barde* being a spear or bat-
tle-axe in the Teutonic dialects.—*Vid.* Not. ad
Vit. S. Antonini Abb. Surrent. ex antiquis Lectioni-
bus Eccl. Surrent. (Acta SS. Boland. 14 Feb.,
p. 796, D.).

^r *At Sechnall's place*.—i. e. within the sacred pre-
cincts of Dunshaughlin.

nall dia cairmepe 7 ni beirgab fair. Luid Sechnall for a air iarriu 7 cuarcab a lama co Dia, oipo fluro in calum .x. cairpeiu .lfff. dib, cum fuit equitibus, et ceteri in pugam exierunt.

Uel hæc est causa .i. ap in tocrao do pat Sechnall for Patraio .i. Po for Patraio minbad oen .i. a laget puitchar beirco. O po chuata era Patraio inrein do luid oo Sechnall, ocup ferz mor fair. I' ambribe po riacht ne Sechnall oippenm aot bul do oupp Cnipe, in can ic cuar do Patraio do eideot don baile 7 ferz mor fair fua Sechnall. Pacbair iaram, Sechnall in ed-pairc for rin alioir, 7 rlehtair do Patraio. Do pat era Patraio in cairpuc cairu, 7 cuarcab Dia in calmain imme hino 7 inbe co na epootig do. Cib pomba bam, op Sechnall. Dia h-oen put ol Patraio, bixici na pa domall-ru, ap man domallaimpea beirco, am boba chumma De. Rop ficiu mo Dia brachai ip ap beirco na puitcham ap tic-pat mo bechaib pozt me in hanc inpolam 7 noipait alepp a fognam ab homnibur. Ni con fectarra rin op Sechnall nach ap laxu do noigiu.

it, and it was not done so for him*. Sechnall then returned back, and raised his hands to God, and the earth swallowed up thirteen chariots of them, cum suis equitibus, et ceteri in fugam exierunt.

Vel hæc est causa[†]; i. e. from the attack that Sechnall made upon Patrick, viz. [when he said] "Patrick is a good man, except in one thing, viz. that he preaches almsgivings so little." When Patrick heard this, he went to Sechnall, and he was in great wrath. It was when Sechnall had finished the Mass, except taking the Body of Christ, that he heard that Patrick had arrived at the place, and that he was in great wrath against Sechnall. Sechnall, therefore, leaves the oblation upon the altar, and prostrates himself to Patrick. Patrick, however, drove the chariot over him, but God raised the ground around him hinc et inde, that he should not be injured. "Why hast thou done so to me?" said Sechnall. "Who then is the man," said Patrick, "who said that I did not preach almsgiving? for if I preach not almsgiving, I am the enemy of God's Testament. But God, my judge, knoweth, that it is for charity that I preach it not, because there shall come after me into this island Children of Life", and they shall have need for its being exercised by all." "I did not know," said Sechnall, "that it was not from laxity thou didst so."

* For him.—i. e. his interference availed nothing to put an end to the fair. See the account of this given in the Tripartite Life, Part iii. c. 90.

† Hæc est causa.—i. e. this is another account of the occasion on which the hymn was composed. See the story of this misunderstanding between Patrick and Sechnall. *Jocelin*. c. 176, 177, *Tripart.*, Part iii. c. 88. But we have here several curious particulars not mentioned in any of the Lives as published by Colgan.

‡ *Children of Life*.—In the Irish preface to the hymn "*Ymnus dicat turba fratrum*," in a subsequent part of this work, the same words, meic bechaib, are used in the general sense of *Christians*. In one of St. Patrick's prophecies he is represented as having predicted St. Kieran as "qui-

dem *filius vite* nondum natus."—*Jocel.*, c. 113, *Vit. Tripart.*, lib. ii. c. 25 (where, for *fluvius*, read *filius*), and in another St. Colman Ela is foretold under the same title. Cf. *Jocel.* c. 96 and 98. Patrick himself is called "a certain Child of Life," in this Preface. See next page. Mac beta, a child of life, signified a righteous man; mac bair, a child of death, a wicked man.

§ *I did not know*.—St. Patrick in his defence of himself (as given above), is made to say, that if he had asked for offerings or land to be given to the Church, he would have obtained all the property of the country, and have left nothing to the Christians that were to come after him. And the Angel says to him, "All, nevertheless, is thine, even though it be given to thy successors."

IS andrim arbert in e-angel fua Pa-
traic, bib laicu rin uile. Do nonpat tra
reth andrim, Patraic 7 Sechnall, 7 oen ba-
car [ao] ciaótain cimchell na nelti po
chualutap clair angel oo cantain immon
fopairt ir in eclair, 7 irreb po óanpat in
n-immon dia ban corrach,

Sancti uenite churici corpur, etc.

Comit o rem ille óantap in Erinn in imun-
ra in can eagap do churp Críste.

Ocup no fáib Patraic iap rin Sechnall oo
Róim por cent neich do chairrib Poil 7
Petaip 7 mapaire aile, ap in cupraóub do
pat faip, 7 ice rin cairre píle in Ard ma-
cha h-i rorim Poil 7 Petaip.

O ru roaire tra do Sechnall in molub-ra
do benam, luid dia cairpenab do Patraic.
In can po ríadé Sechnall co Patraic arbert
fuir, Molab do rígneir dia apanle maó
bechab, ir ail bam ecreóé buiriu fuir. Ar-
bert Patraic, mochen molab ríu murtire
Dé. Ire tra corrach do pat Sechnall por a
immon .i. beata Churici curcibit, ap na po
éuab Patraic [dia aipe] cia dia n-depnab
in e-immon co cairreb a gabail. In can bím,
po pat Sechnall, Maximus namque in
regno celorum, no chumraib Patraic alluo
h-illoc, 7 óic, cindar bar maximus homo
in regno celorum. Óic Sechnall, ppo por-
ricuo epc hic. No ir do ilib a cheneoil pen
bopriore. Ir maich in fnepra ol Patraic.

Then the Angel said to Patrick, "All these shall
be thine." They made peace then, Patrick and
Sechnall. And as they were going round the ceme-
tery, they heard a choir of Angels chanting a hymn
at the Offertory in the church, and what they
chanted was the hymn whose beginning is—

Sancti venite, Christi corpus, &c.

So that from that time to the present that hymn is
chanted in Erinn when the Body of Christ is re-
ceived.

And Patrick, after this, sent Sechnall to Rome
for portions of the relics of Paul and Peter, and
other martyrs, in consequence of the accusation he had
made against him. And these are the relics* which
are now in Ardmacha, in the shrine of Paul and Peter.

Now, when Sechnall had finished this Hymn, he
went to show it to Patrick; and when he had reached
Patrick, he said to him, "I have composed a hymn
in honour of a certain Child of Life,—I wish that thou
wouldst listen to it." Patrick answered, "I wel-
come the praise of a man of the people of God." But
the beginning† that Sechnall gave to the hymn was,
Beata Christi custodit, in order that Patrick should
not know in whose honour the hymn was made,
until he had finished it. But when Sechnall re-
peated, *Maximus namque in regno celorum*, Patrick
moved from place to place, and said, "How can a
man be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Sechnall
said, "Pro positivo est hic; or it is because he
excelled great numbers of his own race." "The
answer is good," said Patrick.

* *These are the relics.*—Jocelin makes St. Patrick
himself go to Rome for these relics, and the Tripartite
Life adds that he constituted S. Secundinus Archbi-
shop of Armagh during his absence. See Note D, p. 44.

† *The beginning.*—i. e. he omitted the first stanza
in which Patrick was named.

‡ *Pro positivo.*—Colgan's version of the Preface
to this hymn, gives this passage thus—"S. Secun-
dinus respondit, *Pro positivo hic ponitur superla-*

tivus." But the text seems to be taken from the
Tripartite Life (Part. iii. c. 91), where the story is
thus told in Colgan's version—"Quo audito S. Pa-
tricius e loco surgens, et in via progrediens, petiit
a Secundino, quomodo de homine diceret *Maximus*
in regno celorum. Secundinus respon-
dit se non vocare *Maximum* liberâ comparatione
facta quoad omnes absolute, sed *propositivo* [read,
pro positivo] inquit, sive respective, ved *quod plu-*

In can tpa no roach ne Sechnall in t-im-mon do gabail, i' anb do pocht per ocur ben co m-biab leo do Paetnaic .i. gnuich 7 imm. Bepa nomen uoiu, 7 bpi3 nomen mulieru. Arbert Paetnaic, tech olre h-i n-gebchar nua ppoint in nimmun-ra ni bia terna m-bto and. Ocur tech nua, umorra, h-i n-gebchar ppiur, biatb corppuma Paetnaic co noemaib epenn and imme. Amail no foill-ri3eb 7m do Cholman ela, 7 alu3 cum eo, 7 amail no foillri3eb do Choemgein cum rui3, in can canic ar mb eclai3 bia domna3 i' in pnamncech, ab imnum hunc contauit. Paetnaic cum mulci3 Paetribus apparuic ei 7 t3r cantauit. Et tunc quidam pculci3 b3it. Cup canimur hanc imnum 7m. 7 b3it Coemgein, ni maich 7m olre quia apparuic enim nobi3 Paetnaic cum rui3 b3i-3ipuli3 quantiu cunctabamur imnum.

When Sechnall had finished reciting the hymn, there came then a man and a woman^a having food with them for Patrick, viz. cheese and butter. Bera was the name of the man, and Brigh the name of the woman. Then Patrick said, "The house," said he, "in which this Hymn is sung before dinner, there shall be no scarcity of food in it." And the new house^a in which it is sung before occupation the watching of Patrick and of the saints of Ireland shall be there about it; as the same was revealed to Colman Ela, and to others with him; and as it was revealed to Coemhghin [Kevin] and his monks, when he came out of the church on Sunday into the refectory, and sang this hymn^b. And Patrick, with many fathers, appeared to him, and he sang it three times. And then a certain foolish one said, "Why do we sing this hymn thus?" And Coemhghin said, "That is not good," said he, "for Patrick with his disciples were visible to us, so long as we were singing this Hymn."

ribus generis sui præcellit, Britonum vel Scotorum.—*Colgan.* p. 166. That is to say, the superlative degree is used instead of the positive, maximus for magnus. Or else he is said to be *maximus*, relatively to others of his race, i. e. greatest of the Britons or Scots. See the Gloss on this passage of the Hymn, which is evidently taken from this explanation.

^a *A man and a woman.*—See the *Trip. Life*, Part iii. c. 94.

^a *The new house.*—i. e. the house built since Patrick's time, the house of the present day, shall have the protection of Patrick and of his companions, the saints of Ireland, according to the revelations made to St. Colman Ela and to St. Kevin. The following is the story alluded to as told in the Life of St. Colman Ela (*Colgan. ubi supr.*, p. 210)—"Beatus senex Colmanus cantabat cum suis fratribus Hymnum Sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi Hiberniæ, et beatus Patricius ante tempus S. Colmani multis annis migravit ad Christum. Venitque S. Patricius de cælo, et stetit in medio fratrum cantantium suum hymnum. Et videns S. Colmanus solus sanctum

Patricium, jussit ter cantari hymnum. Admirantes fratres, unus, senior ex illis, dixit ad S. Colmanum, Adsunt nobis alia spiritualia cantica, cur igitur moremur in uno tota die? S. Colmanus ait illi, Vere bone senior; beatissimus noster Patricius stabat in medio nostri benedicens nos, usque dum audivit verbum increpationis tuæ; sed tunc illico evanuit ex oculis meis,—et ideo jussi ter Hymnum cantari. Hoc audiens ille senior displicuit sibi et penitentiam ægit."

^b *Sang this Hymn.*—The following is the account given in the Life of St. Kevin (c. 23) of the circumstance here alluded to:—"Quadam nocte S. Coemgenus cum suis monachis hymnum S. Patricii cantabant; repente autem B. Coemgenus admiratus tacuit, et suos tribus vicibus Hymnum cantare jussit. Hymno tertia vice deposito, benedixit eis S. Patricius. Quibus interrogantibus cur jussit hymnum cantari ter, ipse vero tacens, exposuit eis, dicens. S. Patronus noster Patricius, cujus hymnum cantastis, stabat in pavimento, suffultus baculo; et benedixit nobis a carmine cessantibus."—*Colgan. ubi supra.*

O po riacht in t-immun do gabail, arbert Sechnall, alog dam-ra op re. Rotbia ol Patraic, .i. allin lá pil in anno, a chuber be anmabur peccatorum do dul dochumm nime ap in n-immun do benam. Ní geb-ra rin op Sechnall, op ir bec lumm, 7 ir maith in molab. Rotbia, ol Patraic, allin lá pil for carraí do dochaill, allin peccach do dul dochum nime, ap in n-immun. Ní geb, op Sechnall, ap cia h-irerach na bepa lair in coirber rin dochumm nime, cen co mola ferrin (no per) amail turra eoir. Rotbia, ol Patraic, moirfeirriur caða dardam, 7 .x. ba fíri caða rathann dochumm nime do peccachair epenn. Ir bec, op Sechnall. Rotbia, ol Patraic, cað oen gebur po lige 7 po erdi do dul do chumm nime. Ní geb-ra rin op Sechnall, ap ir moir in t-immun, 7 ní cach conic-ra a mebrugub. Arach uile, ol Patraic, ap na tpi caritcelu bebinachu be. Deo gnaciar, op Sechnall.

Do pairngert in t-angel do Patraic for rin cruach, in decna .i. nem don ti gebur po lige 7 po erdi na tpi caritcelu bebincha be, ut erc

Imun do nega h-icbiu,
bú luirrech biten do óach.

Ono abdictech pil pair, more ebneorum

When the recitation of the Hymn was concluded, Sechnall said, "I must have the reward for it," said he. "Thou shalt have it," said Patrick, "the number of days that are in a year, the same number of souls of sinners shall go to heaven, for the making of this Hymn." "I will not accept that," said Sechnall, "for I think that too little, and the praise is good." "Thou shalt have then," said Patrick, "the number of the hairs that are on the casula^c of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to go to heaven, for the Hymn." "I will not accept it," said Sechnall, "for who is the believer who would not take that number to heaven, although he were not praised by myself, nor by any one, as thou art." "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, to go to heaven, of the sinners of Erin." "It is too little," said Sechnall. "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "every one to go to heaven who sings it lying down and rising up." "I will not accept that," said Sechnall, "for the Hymn is long, and it is not every one that can commit it to memory." "Its whole grace then," said Patrick, "shall be upon the last three stanzas of it." "Deo gratias," said Sechnall.

The Angel promised the same thing to Patrick upon the Cruach^d, viz. heaven to every one who shall sing the last three stanzas of it at lying down, and at rising up, as is [said by the poet].

A Hymn^e, which, if sung when alive,
Will be a protecting Lorica unto all.

It is in alphabetical order, more Hebraeorum^f, sed

^c *The casula*.—This seems partly taken from the third Life, c. 88 (Colgan, p. 28), where the story is thus told:—"Nam postquam hunc hymnum fecit Sechnall Patricio dixit, Quid mihi dabis pro mercede hujus hymni? Dixit ei Patricius, Dabitur tibi ut secundum numerum fimbriarum casulae tuae omnes tecum ad coelum portes. Dixit Sechnall, Malus clericus est qui istum numerum secum non portet; egometipse hunc numerum tecum portare possum. Dixitque Patricius, Quicumque hunc hymnum cantaverit in die mortis suae, infernum non possidebit. Et hoc Sechnallo placuit." See also *Tripart.*, Part.

iii. c. 91, where it is probable that Colgan has abridged this account of Sechnall's intercession with S. Patrick.

^d *The Cruach*.—i. e. upon the celebrated mountain called Cruach, or Croagh-Patrick. See the third Life, c. 85 and 88, and *Probus*, lib. ii. c. 32.

^e *A Hymn*.—These lines occur in St. Fiech's Hymn, which Colgan has published as the first Life of St. Patrick.—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 3, stanza 26.

^f *More Hebraeorum*.—Alluding to the Alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

reb non per omnia. Ʈri capítula .xx. píl
anb; Ʈ .lfff. líne in caó capítul; Ʈ .xv. píl-
laba in caó líne. Ʈ rí quí inuenerit plúr
minúse in eo eppor epc. Ʈcacc ba mub,
no a Ʈrí h-í píl inand ríne penru reb caupá
ríchmí Ʈc.

Similitudine Moysíí dicentíí. aubice celí
quí loquarrí. Ʈ Dauid dicentíí. aubice haec
omnes gentes.

non per omnia. Three and twenty capitula are in
it; and four lines in each capitulum; and fifteen
syllables in each line; et si quis invenerit plus mi-
nusve, in eo error est. There are two or three places,
which are sine sensu^b, sed causa rithmi, etc.

[It was written] similitudine Moysisⁱ dicentis,
Audite celi qui loquar: et David dicentis, *Audite*
hæc omnes gentes.

NOTE B.

Of the Author of the Hymn, and the Traditions respecting him.

It would be inconsistent with the limits and objects of these notes to enter at any length into the history of St. Patrick, although many interesting topics of discussion are suggested by the curious document published in Note A.

We shall, therefore, confine our remarks to the notices which that document contains of the author of the hymn, and of the occasion on which it was composed.

I.—We are distinctly told that the hymn was written in Domhnach Sechnaill (now Dunshaughlin, in Meath), by the St. Sechnall, or Secundinus, from whom that place received its name; and that this Sechnall was the son of St. Patrick's sister, by her husband *Restitutus*, who was of "the Longobards of Leatha."

A rann cited from Eochaidh O'Flannagan, Archinneach, or Erenach of Armagh, and of Clonfeacle (ob. 1003), calls the father of St. Sechnall, *Ua Baird*, i. e. grandson or descendant of Bard, "of the race of the pure, fierce, white-coloured Longobards of Letha."

This statement suggests some questions, which can only be here indicated as subjects for investigation.

1. Are we to understand that the Longobards had their name from an ancestor called *Bard*, and not from their long beards, or long spears?

If so, this would seem to square more nearly with the opinion of those who maintain that the Longobardi were so called from the union of the Lingones and the

^a *Sed non per omnia*.—That is, every line does not follow the alphabetical order, but only the first line of each quatrain.

^b *Sine sensu*.—The meaning seems to be, that there are two or three passages of the Hymn in which the sense is sacrificed for the sake of the rhythm or

metre. See vv. 19, 31, 47, 52.

ⁱ *Similitudine Moysis*.—That is, this Hymn begins with the words *Audite omnes*, like the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii., which begins *Audite cali*, and like Ps. xlviii. (*Hebr. xlix.*), a Psalm of David which begins *Audite hæc omnes gentes*.

Bardi, a race of Gaul, or of ancient Saxony¹. In an Irish author we might expect to find the Bardi termed Ui Baird, or Hy Baird, the descendants of Bard.

It is remarkable, however, that two of St. Patrick's disciples are also spoken of as sons of Ua Baird, viz. Comitius, or Connetus (*filius Hua Baird*), Bishop of Cluain-sean-moil [now Clonshanville, county Roscommon], and Dabonna (*filius Hua Baird*), Bishop of Cluain-na-manach.—*Vit. Trip.*, lib. ii. c. 18, 19. Aengus the Culdee, in his book "On the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland" (extant in MS. only), mentions Dabonna as one of the sons of St. Patrick's sister, and a brother of St. Sechnall:—

Lupait ríur Dabnaic macaíu .i. mac in
ui bairb .i. Sechnall, Nechtanb, Dabonna,
Mogornan, Darigoc, Ausaille, Cruimchíu
Lugnath.

Lupait², sister of Patrick, was the mother of the
seven sons of the Ua Baird, i.e. Sechnall, Nechtann,
Dabonna, Mogornan, Darigoc, Ausaille, Priest
Lugnath.

It does not appear, however, that Comitius, or Connetus, was the son of St. Patrick's sister, and of Restitutus, although Colgan (p. 227) seems to assume that such was the case, and therefore, attributes to Liemania nine sons in all, adding to the seven enumerated by Aengus, this Comitius, and another named Diarmid, who is expressly called the son of Restitutus, and the nephew of St. Patrick, in the Tripartite Life, lib. ii. c. 6.

Perhaps, however, the only reason why Diarmid and Comitius are supposed to be the sons of Liemania, is their having been sons of an Hua Baird. All these statements are obscurities that need further and more patient investigation than these remote corners of Church history have ever yet received.

2. But how are we to receive the assertion that St. Patrick's sister, in the fifth century, was the wife of a Longobard of Italy; if that be what is meant (as is generally supposed) by a Longobard of Leatha, for it is notorious that the Longobards did not obtain a settlement in Italy until the middle of the sixth century, A. D. 568? Are we to question this latter date, as Colgan has done, or are we, with Dr. Lanigan, to solve the difficulty by a note of admiration, and reject the statement of the Irish authorities as an ignorant fabrication?

Before we make choice between these alternatives, some other considerations must be taken into account. There is mention of Longobards, and of Longobards of Leatha, in a much earlier period of Irish history.

¹ Saxony.—*Alis visum est, hanc illis appellationem a Saxonibus, eorum agminibus immixtis, provenisse; quod Bardos appellari solitos Saxones tradit antiquitas.*—*Alb. Krantz. Danie* lib. iv. c. 19. See also Hoffman, *Lexicon*, voce *Longobardi*.

² Lupait.—Colgan shows that Lupait is here an error for Liemania.—*Tri. Thaum.*, p. 225 sq. The

tombstone of Lugnath, the last of the seven sons above enumerated, may still be seen, with its ancient Irish inscription, on the island of Inis-an-ghoill in Lough Corrib, and in that inscription he is expressly styled mac Umenueh, son of Liemania. See Petrie on the Round Towers (*Trans. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xx. p. 164).

The Four Masters tell us that Aengus Olmucadha, King of Ireland, A. M. 3790 (or 3150, according to O'Flaherty), gained twelve battles over the Longobards,—a statement derived from the *Leabhar Gabhala*,¹ on the authority of an ancient poem, which celebrates the victories of King Aengus, and records his battles with the Lombards thus :—

Ro bñip da each decc iartam
i Leatha pop Longbairdaib.

He gained twelve battles afterwards
In Leatha over the Longobards.

So that we have here the Longobards in Italy in the year of the world 3790, and an Irish king invading their territory!^m

To escape this difficulty, O'Flahertyⁿ maintains that the Longobardi vanquished by King Aengus were a people of North Britain, who are not to be confounded with the Longobards or Lombards of the continent of Europe, and that from these British Longobards, so called from their bards or poets, and not from their beards, the husband of St. Patrick's sister was descended. But this hypothesis takes no account of the fact, that the same authorities from which we learn the existence of these Longobards place them in *Leatha* (wherever that may be), and that there is not the smallest evidence to prove that there was ever a people of that name in North Britain.^o

¹ *Leabhar gabhala*.—The *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests, is a collection of historical poems and documents of great value, and the chief source, in fact, of Irish traditional history. The MS. of it here quoted is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and is in the handwriting of one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters.

^m *Their territory*.—It will be observed that the Four Masters in their Annals do not call these Longobards the Longobards of Leatha. Is this an evidence that they were conscious of the difficulty?

ⁿ *O'Flaherty*.—Longobardi a barba Norvegis, Gothia, et Germania bard dicti, qui e Scandia Danica circa an. Domini 382 egressi, et Sclavoniam, Istrum, Galliam, et Germaniam pervagati in Pannoniam pervenerant, et inde anno 568, Narsete in Italiam advocati Longobardiæ seu Lombardiæ regnum, Ticino sede, sibi in Italia condiderant, fuerunt diversi ab his Longobardis Borealis Britannia, gente a Bardis suis appellationem illam desumente, e qua oriundus gente Restitutus S. Patricii sororius nunc Longobardus, nunc Huabaird, i. e. e progenie Bardi cognominatur.—*Ogyg.* p. 206.

^o *North Britain*.—At least none of the authorities

which O'Flaherty has quoted in support of the assertion give any countenance to the opinion that the Lombards of whom they spoke were in any way different from the people generally known by that name. He cites, for example, the Martyrology of Tamblacht, and the scholiast of Marianus on the 27th November. Of these works, preserved in MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, I have been permitted by the liberality of the Belgian Government to take copies. In the Martyrology of Tamblacht there is a defect from October 17 to December 17; and the Brussels MS. has a note stating that this defect existed in "the old book" from which that MS. was transcribed. Its testimony, therefore, cannot now be ascertained, but the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, at November 27, records the feast of St. Sechnall in these words—

Sechnall moir mac u baird.

Sechnall the great, son of Ua Baird.

And the scholiast has the following note:—O Domnach Seadnaill i n-beircept bñeg; do Longobairdaib do, i Secunduinur a ainm, mac do Liaman mair Patraic e, i po boi ma prioraib in Aibmaoia.—"Of Domhnach-Seachnaill in

Colgan^p has dealt with this difficulty entirely with reference to the father of St. Secundinus, and the existence of Lombards in Italy in the fifth century. After stating the objection that the Longobardi had not established themselves in Italy, according to the earliest computation (that of Sabellicus and Baronius), until A. D. 568, he asserts that the opinion of Krantzius is much more probable, which assigns their migration from their primitive Scandinavian settlements to the year 382, and that even if it were certain that they had not obtained a fixed settlement in Italy before the latter half of the sixth century, it is undeniable that they had spread through Sclavonia, Germany, and Gaul, and he concludes that it is therefore not impossible that the Lombard Restitutus may have become acquainted with St. Patrick and his sister in Gaul or Britain, or even in Italy, although his nation had not then obtained a fixed habitation there.

the south of Bregia; he was of the Longobards, and Secundinus was his name; he was the son of Liamhan, the sister of Patrick, and he was Primate of Armagh." O'Flaherty refers also to the Martyrology of Donegal, where we find the following notice of St. Seachnall at the 27th of November:

Seachnall .i. Secundinur ppiomairbh Arpa-mada. Mac do Liamhan nua Padraicc e, 7 i n-bomnach Sechnall i m-bpegarb ata a ceall. Ader beta Padraicc leabair ii., cap. 25, go n-beirbh Padraicc eclair i n-ionab ipraibe Secundinur po epamn builigh ag upnaighe ina aonar, 7 go bpuil bealb na epaibe i n-ionab i n-a. ag copar mucna a cconnaobair, amail cuigep ar imceobair Padraicc.

"Seachnall, i. e. Secundinus, Primate of Armagh. He was the son of Liamhan, Patrick's sister, and his church was at Domhnach Sechnall in Bregia. The Life of Patrick, lib. 2, c. 25, says [*Viz. Trip.*, l. ii. c. 58, *Colg.*, p. 137], that Patrick was erecting a church in a place where Secundinus was taking pleasure in praying under a tree alone, and the figure of the cross is in that place, i. e. in Tobar-mucna in Connaught, as is known from the travels of Patrick."

Here it will be observed there is no mention whatsoever of the Lombards, whilst in the passage quoted from the Martyrology of Marianus, they are spoken of by their usual name, without any mention either of North Britain or of Leatha.

The same remark applies to the other authorities cited by O'Flaherty, viz. the Annals of the Four Masters at 447 (where we read of the death of "Secundinus Mac Ua Baird, the son of St. Patrick's sister," without any mention of Longobards), and the passage from Aengus the Culdee, *on the Mothers of the Saints*, which has already been quoted. O'Flaherty refers also to the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick, lib. ii. c. 18. This is the passage upon which I have already commented, in which Comellus, or Connetus, and Dabonna, are spoken of as sons of Ua Baird. It contains no mention of Longobards, much less of Longobards of North Britain.

Besides these, O'Flaherty cites two other authorities which I am unable to verify, namely, the Martyrology of Cathald Maguire, and that of Cashel. No MSS. of these works are known to exist in this country.

On the whole, then, it would seem that O'Flaherty's assertion of a tribe called Longobards existing in North Britain at that early period is a mere conjecture, devised to meet a difficulty, and having no other foundation than the fact that Aengus Ollmuchadha is said to have made incursions into the country of the Picts, in North Britain.

^p *Colgan*.—Colgan's words are:—"Sed dices gentem Longobardorum non extitisse tempore S. Patricii: nam ipso multis ante annis mortuo, gens hæc ex Scandinavia, hodie Scandia, Danici vel Norwegici imperii regione, primum egressa est anno 686 juxta

But the authorities do not say that Restitutus, a Lombard, met Liemania and married her in Italy, for this would have been no very great historical difficulty; what they do say is, that her husband was of the race of the Lombards of Italy, implying that the Lombards were established there in the fifth century.

And it is further to be observed, that Colgan's solution of this difficulty does not at all explain the existence of Lombards in Italy in the times of King Aengus Ollmuchadha, but rather seems to give up that as a hopeless case, for he contents himself with showing that the Longobards began their migrations in the fourth century, and takes no notice of the other difficulty. If he had known of a nation of Longobards, settled in North Britain, some centuries before the Christian era, he could not have failed to notice what would have been so much to his purpose.

3. The fact, however, with which we are to grapple, and which cannot be ignored, is, that the Irish authorities speak of Longobards of Italy (if Leatha be Italy), as existing, not only in the age of St. Patrick, but in that of Aengus Ollmuchadha.

But *Leatha*, in the language of ancient Irish authors, often signifies *Letavia*, or *Armorica*. This was in all probability its original meaning, and it may be doubted whether the interpretation *Leatha* = *Latium* = *Italia* be not a mistake.

Restitutus, therefore, may have been a Longobard, not of Italy, but of Armorica, and the warlike and victorious King Aengus Ollmuchadha may have invaded the Lombards in Letavia or Armorica, not in Italy^a.

I admit, however, that we are here met by the same difficulty which is apparently fatal to O'Flaherty's hypothesis. We have no evidence of a settlement of Lombards in Armorica at the early period which is necessary to save the credit of our Irish historical authorities.

4. It is a further difficulty that the name given to the husband of Liemania is Latin, and even Christian in its signification. We find no such names as *Restitutus* among the Pagan Lombards of that age; and therefore there is suspicion that there is here some corruption of the history, from the imaginations of a later age. But if Patrick's heathen name of *Succath* was changed into the Latin *Patricius*, the name of Liemania's Lombardic husband may have undergone a similar transformation. Here is matter for further investigation and inquiry.

Saxonem Grammaticum; vel saltem, juxta Sabellium et Baronium non fixit sedem in Italia ante annum 568; nec ingressa est Pannoniam (ex qua in Italiam erupit), ante annum 525. Respondeo, Saxonem in hoc, quemadmodum et in aliis, fabulis indulsisse. Verius enim est quod Crantzius scribit, egressam esse circa annum 382. Et esto non fixerit sedem in Pannonia aut Italia, ante predictos annos, certum tamen est eam, permultis antea annis, natali solo excessisse, et

per Sclavoniæ, Istri, Germaniæ, et Galliæ fines divagatam fuisse Potuit autem Restitutus maritus Liemaniæ, vel in Gallia, vel in Britannia, vel etiam in Italia, esto ibi gens ejus eo ævo non habitaverit, S. Patricio occurrisset, ejusque sororem in uxorem accepisse."—Colgan, *Act. Sanctorum (De S. Mele. 6. Febr.)*, p. 262, n. 17.

^a *Not in Italy*.—See Irish version of Nennius, *Addit. Notes*, No. xi. p. 19.

5. The historical poem of Eochaidh O'Flannagain describes the Longobards as "pure, fierce, and white-coloured."

The epithets *pure* and *fierce* may be taken as words of course, and they are strictly in the spirit of the Irish bardic poetry. But *white-coloured* seems to imply something historical, and it receives an apparent confirmation from the following notices of the dress of the ancient Longobards, by Paulus Diaconus (or Warnefridus), himself a Lombard.

In one place he represents the son of Turisend, King of the Gepidi, as reproaching the Longobards for their custom of wearing *white* bands or swathes round their legs:—

Tunc regis alter qui aderat filius, patris sermone stimulatus, Longobardos injuriis laceessere coepit, asserens eos, quia suris inferius candidis utebantur fasciis, equabus, quibus crurum tenuis pedes albi sunt, similes esse, dicens :—Festulæ sunt equæ quas simulatis^r.

Again, in describing the dress of the ancient Lombards, as represented in a picture in the palace of Queen Theudelinda, he speaks of them as wearing loose linen garments like those of the Anglo-Saxons.

In quâ picturâ manifeste ostenditur quomodo Longobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant, vel qualis illis vestitus, qualisve habitus erat. Si quidem cervicem usque ad occipitum radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa, et maxime lineæ, qualia Angli-Saxones habere solent, ornata institis latiores, vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti, et alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Postea vero coeperunt hosis uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant, sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerunt^r.

On the whole, it is possible that there may be found more golden grains of true history in these rude and seeming blunders about Longobards of Leatha than would at first sight seem probable to the modern reader.

6. It remains to notice one further mention of Longobards in the Lives of St. Patrick, although it does not assist us in clearing up the historical difficulties we have been considering.

The author of the fourth Life in Colgan's collection tells us¹, that the nine daughters of the King of the Longobards, together with a daughter of the King of Britain (Regis Britannæ, which may be Brittany or Armorica), leaving their country and kindred, came in pilgrimage to St. Patrick, and submitted themselves to his spiritual direction in a life of monastic retirement. The same story is told by Jocelyn, but he speaks only of "quædam virgo filia Regis Britannæ, cum novem puellis sanctis, quæ cum ipsa illuc ad S. Patricium venerat"²; he does not, however, say that these last were the daughters of a Lombard king.

Not so the author of the *Vita Tripartita*; speaking of the fame of St. Patrick, which

¹ *De gestis Longobard*, lib. i. c. 24.

² *Ibid.*, lib. iv. c. 23.

¹ Cap. 88, *Tr. Th.*, p. 46.

² *Jocel.*, c. 165 (*Tr. Th.*, p. 101).

induced many to place themselves under his guidance, in order to lead, under his directions, a holy life, he tells us (iii. c. 73):—"Non solum inter hos viri plurimi, sed et aliquot extiterunt Deo dicatæ virgines, ex quibus in primis erant novem filiæ Regis Longobardorum, et filia Regis Britannicæ; quæ cum venissent juxta Armacham ad locum *Coll-na-ningean** [the hazel tree of the Virgins] dictum, miserunt nuntium ad S. Patricium, ejus præsentiam salutaremque instructionem postulantes." St. Patrick accedes to their request, and having predicted that three of them would die in the place where they then were, directs the survivors to repair to a place called *Druim Fennedha*, there to live a life of retirement and heavenly contemplation.

Here there is no mention of *Leatha* as the country of these Longobard virgins, but their connexion with the daughter of the King of Britain seems to give some incidental, although remote countenance to the conjecture that Brittany, or Armorica, may have been known in ancient times as a seat of the Lombards.

On the whole, then, it appears that before we reject the statement that St. Sechnall was descended from the Lombards of *Leatha*, some further inquiries ought to be made into the early history of the Longobardic tribes. Is there any ground for supposing that they had settled in North Britain, or in Armorica, during the reign of Aengus Ollmuchadha, or at any time prior to the age of St. Patrick? Or are we to depress the chronology of St. Patrick's Life, so as to make it square with the statement that his sister was married to a Longobard of Italy? Or lastly, are we to assume that this notice of the Longobards of Italy is only a mistake of the ancient historians, who, knowing the Lombards of their own day as Lombards of Italy, forgot that they were not so in the times of King Aengus and of St. Patrick.

II.—It remains now to say a few words on the occasion on which the Hymn is said to have been written.

The Lives of St. Patrick, as well as the Preface to the Hymn in the *Leabhar Breac*, give us to understand that St. Secundinus composed the Hymn on the occasion of his reconciliation with St. Patrick after their temporary misunderstanding; and that it was completed a very short time only before the death of its author, an event which the Four Masters have recorded at the year 448.

It must be admitted that the style of the Hymn coincides exactly with this tradition; so that if it was not composed during St. Patrick's lifetime, it must undoubtedly have been written with a view to pass for having been then composed. All the actions of its hero are described in the present tense, and in language which clearly implies that he was still living. Thus he is said to be keeping Christ's commandments—

Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus;

to be constant in the fear of God, and immoveable in the faith (v. 9); to be trading

* *Coll na ningeon*.—Called *Ferta minor* by Jocelin, *loc. cit.*

with the talents of the Gospel, and exacting usury upon them from the Irish clans, in consequence of which, as the reward of his labour, he will hereafter possess with Christ the joy of the kingdom of heaven—

Cum Christo regni celestis *possessurus* gaudium.

He is said also to be exhibiting to all good men the form and example of an Apostle, and to be preaching to the people by works as well as by words, provoking to holiness by his example those whom his words may fail to convince.

Qui tam verbis, quam et factis, plebi prædicat Dei,
Ut quem dictis non convertit, actu provocet bono.

He is described as humbled by the fear of God, in spirit, *as well as in body*; and as bearing *in his body*, like St. Paul, the marks or stigmata of the Lord Jesus (vv. 29-32); as keeping *his flesh* chaste, from love of the Lord, preparing it to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, and offering it as a living sacrifice (*hostiam vivam*), well pleasing to God (vv. 37-40). He boldly preaches to the Gentiles the Name of the Lord (v. 49); he despises all the glory of this world for the sake of God's law (v. 53); he stands unmoved under the thunder of the world, rejoicing to suffer affliction for Christ (v. 55-56); he is the good and faithful shepherd of the Gospel sheep, chosen by God to watch over His people, and to feed them with holy doctrine (v. 57 and 59); Christ has appointed him His Vicar on earth (v. 81); he sings the Hymns, the Apocalypse, the Psalms, and explains them to the people for their edification (v. 85-6); he prays without ceasing day and night; and lastly, when hereafter he shall receive the reward of his labour, *he will reign* with the Apostles, a saint over Israel, for ever,—

Cujus ingentis laboris *percepturus* præmium
Cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super Israel.

It is difficult to suppose this language to have been written except in the lifetime of him to whose praise the Hymn is dedicated, unless we assume that the author of the Hymn, living at a later period, intended to impose it upon the Church as the work of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

The author of the Preface gives a somewhat unamiable view of St. Patrick's character in his account of his wrath against St. Sechnall, and of the manner in which he endeavoured to punish his disciple. The Lives of St. Patrick, published by Colgan, do not contain any authority for the statement, that St. Sechnall quitted the very altar in the most solemn part of the Mass, in order to meet St. Patrick, and cast himself at his feet; that St. Patrick, disregarding this act of reverence for his person, endeavoured, in his wrath, to drive his chariot over the prostrate Sechnall, whose life was saved by a sudden miracle, and that a reconciliation was effected by the interven-

tion of St. Patrick's guardian angel,—and immediately afterwards a choir of angels was heard chanting a hymn in the church. These particulars are also omitted in the Preface to this Hymn, as it is published by Colgan.

Nevertheless, in the Tripartite Life we find two instances in which St. Patrick is represented to have driven his chariot in wrath over an offending and prostrate suppliant.

The first of these is the case of St. Olcan, Bishop of Rathmuighe, or Arthir-muighe (Armoy, county Antrim), who had offended his master by receiving into communion Saran, a prince of Dalaradia, whom Patrick had excommunicated. The matter had been reported to St. Patrick (as the author of the Tripartite Life suggests), with some exaggeration^{*}; and Olcan, having heard of this misunderstanding, made every haste to appease his master's wrath, and when he came in sight of the chariot fell on his knees to demand an audience. This was refused, and St. Olcan then cast himself prostrate on the public road. The charioteer seeing this, stopped, but was immediately commanded by St. Patrick to drive on[†]. He hesitated to do so, and the delay thus occasioned led to an explanation, which ended in a prophecy that St. Olcan's church should be three times destroyed and polluted with blood, as the punishment of his fault.

The second case is that of St. Patrick's sister or relative (for the Irish word for sister frequently signifies a more distant consanguinity), who, although of a religious profession (*fœmina pia et devota et probatæ alias sanctitatis*), had fallen into sin, and broken her vows[‡]. In a word, she had become the mother of a son, who was afterwards eminent for sanctity. Repenting, however, of her guilt, with sackcloth and ashes, she cast herself prostrate before St. Patrick's chariot in the public road, beseeching him to pardon her grievous offence. The saint, however, drove his chariot over her. She rose up bruised and injured, and cast herself again before the chariot; a second time St. Patrick drove over her. This was repeated a third time; and the penitent, having sustained this ordeal, was at length restored to favour[§].

The story told of St. Sechnall in the legend before us is strictly in the spirit of these anecdotes, and is apparently founded upon them.

^{*} *Exaggeration.*—Postquam hoc factum, forte aliter quam sit gestum, ad aures S. Patricii, qui antea Saranum obstinatum et persecutorem, maledictionis jaculo feriit, esset delatum.—*Vit. Trip.*, p. 147.

[†] *To drive on.*—Ad Sanctum ergo Patricium placandum, quanto citius accurrit; et cum pervenisset in conspectum, genuflectendo paulatim accedit, et ita tandem errati supplex et poenitens veniam exposcit; quod Sancto Patricio in curru procedenti, et alloquium neganti prostratum in via publica se objecerit. Cum autem auriga ad talem conspectum currum

stetisset, *severus Senior mandat currum agat, susceptumque iter prosequatur.* Ille humiliter excusat, dicens, se non audere, ne scelus admittat, ad prostratam, et in viâ objectam Episcopi personam non respiciens. Tunc rigidus magister, &c.—*Ibid.*

[‡] *Broken her vows.*—Quæ, quia incauta non evitavit fugienda virorum consortia, contra Deo consecratæ castitatis propositum peccavit.—*Vit. Trip.* iii. c. 76, p. 163.

[§] *Restored to favour.*—Et cum S. Antistitem iter agentem, ad cujus præsentiam ante non audebat

NOTE C.

The Post-Communion Hymn, "Sancti venite."

A VERY interesting part of the legend preserved in the Preface of the *Leabhar Breac*, is that which speaks of a choir of angels, heard in the Church of St. Sechnall, chanting the Hymn *Sancti Venite Christi corpus*,—which Hymn, the writer tells us, has ever since been sung in the Irish Church, whilst the communicants are receiving the Body of Christ.

This is curious information, as recording a peculiarity of the Irish ritual at the time when the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac* was written; for it seems reasonable to conclude that when the writer speaks of this hymn as being chanted "*in Erin*" at the Communion, and when he attributes the origin of the custom to the choir of Angels, he means to account for a practice then, and for some considerable time before his own age, existing in the Irish Church.

And it is remarkable that the Hymn in question is known only from its having been preserved in an Irish authority,—viz. the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*^b, a fact which proves it to be of considerable antiquity, and also to be peculiar to the Church of Ireland. It is worthy of notice, however, that this Hymn does not occur in the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, but as that MS. has suffered mutilation, we cannot infer that it never was in the collection.

The Hymn is entitled^c, "*Hymnus quando communicarent Sacerdotes*," and is as follows:—

Sancti venite,
Christi corpus sumite;
Sanctum bibentes,
Quo redempti sanguinem.

Salvati Christi
Corpore et sanguine,
A quo refecti,
Laudes dicamus Deo.

Hoc sacramento
Corporis et sanguinis,
Omnes exuti
Ab inferni faucibus.

Dator salutis,
Christus filius Dei,
Mundum salvavit,
Per crucem et sanguinem.

accedere, audiret in vicinia esse, ei lachrymis offusa occurrit; *et in via publica ante currum ejus se prostravit*, tantæ offensæ veniam deprecans. Vir autem sanctus curat currum super eam minari. Et dum sic prostrata resurgit, iterato se ante currum in terram prostrata objicit. Idem pia femina et poenitentis speculum tertio facit; et tertio rigidus, severusque poenitentialis disciplinæ Magister curat currum supra jacentem agitari.—*Ibid.*

^b *Antiphonarium Benchorense*.—Muratori Op., tom. xi., part 3, p. 224.

^c *Is entitled*.—Daniel has printed this Hymn, *Theas. Hymnol.*, vol. i. p. 193. He remarks upon the title "*Quod hymno, nobili quadam simplicitate conspicuo, inscriptum est, hoc recentioris ætatis putaverim. Spectat carmen procul dubio (v. 25, 36, e. a.), ad omnes Christianos, qui tunc temporis sub utraque specie Christum suum acceperunt.*"

Pro universis	Sumant æternam
Immolatus Dominus,	Salutis custodiam.
Ipsæ Sacerdos	
Existit et hostia.	Sanctorum custos,
	Rector quoque Dominus
Lege preceptum	Vitæ perennis
Immolari hostias,	Largitur credentibus.
Qua adumbrantur	
Divina mysteria.	Cœlestam panem
	Dat esurientibus,
Lucis indultor	De fonte vivo
Et salvator omnium,	Prebet sitientibus.
Præclaram sanctis	
Largitus est gratiam.	Alpha et omega
	Ipsæ Christus Dominus
Accedant omnes	Venit, venturus
Pura mente creduli,	Judicare homines.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breac*, which has been published in Note A, has been supposed by the best Irish scholars, judging from its language and style, to be a composition of about the seventh or eighth century; and it is no small confirmation of its claim to this high antiquity that it speaks of this Hymn as still in use in the Irish Church. But no trace of the Hymn it is to be found in the Breviaries and Antiphonaries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, used in Ireland, of which several are preserved in the Library of Trinity College; nor in the Antiphony of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (a MS. of the thirteenth century), in the possession of the Editor. The same remark applies also to the Hymn of St. Sechnall. No trace of its use is found in any of the ancient ritual books of the Anglo-Irish Church to which the Editor has access.

NOTE D.

The Relics of Armagh.

THE author of the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac* appears to intimate that a pilgrimage to Rome was imposed upon St. Sechnall by his offended master as a penance for his fault; and that "the relics of Paul, Peter, and other martyrs," brought by St. Sechnall from Rome on this occasion, were preserved at Armagh down to his own time, "in the shrine of Paul and Peter."

The Lives of St. Patrick make no mention of this mission of St. Sechnall, but state that the relics at Armagh had been, by "a pious theft" [*pio astu furtove, sacrorum locorum custodibus nescientibus et dormientibus*], brought from Rome by Patrick

himself^d, who, at an advanced age, was commanded by an angel to undertake the journey for that express purpose; and who, on his return, deposited them (*inter quæ erant reliquiæ Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Stephani Protomartyris, et aliorum plurimorum martyrum*), at Armagh, and constituted that church the Metropolitan See of Ireland. This is Jocelin's account. The Tripartite Life adds, that Patrick, during his absence, constituted St. Sechnall Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland in his stead^e.

The ancient scholiast on St. Fiech's Hymn states that St. Patrick came to Ireland in the first year of Pope Sixtus, the successor of Celestinus, and that Sixtus gave him some of the relics of Peter and Paul, with many books,—“Sixtus vero ei [Celestino] successit, in cujus primo anno Patricius venit ad Hiberniam; et ipse perhumaniter tractavit Patricium, et dedit ipsi partem reliquiarum Petri et Pauli, et libros multos.”—*Colgan*. p. 5. It would seem, therefore, that St. Patrick, according to these testimonies, brought to Ireland two different sets of relics, first those *given* to him by Pope Sixtus on his coming to Ireland, and secondly^f, those which he obtained *pio furto*, on his visit to Rome at a later period of his life.

The Tripartite Life tells us further, that, even in the lifetime of St. Patrick, the relics of Armagh, from the negligence or fault of their guardians, were lost^g, “ut in suo sacrario quæsitæ et undique conquisitæ nusquam potuerint reperiri,” and that St. Patrick, knowing that they had been miraculously conveyed away by angels to their original depository at Rome, sent messengers to the Sovereign Pontiff to ask for their restoration. It is not said, however, that St. Sechnall was sent on this mission; the relics were sent back with an injunction to keep a stricter watch over them; and we are told that this was the origin of the custom of exhibiting them annually, on certain great festivals, to the people. But of this custom the author of the Preface takes no notice, although he tells us expressly that the relics brought from Rome by St. Sechnall were preserved at Armagh in his own time.

In the Gloss of the Felire or Martyrology of Aengus the Culdee, in the *Leabhar*

^d *By St. Patrick himself.*—Jocel. c. 166 (*Colgan*, p. 101). *Vit. Trip.*, part. 3, c. 81 (*Colgan*, p. 164). The Third Life makes also the same statement (c. 84, *Colgan*, p. 28)—“Post hæc prospero itinere perrexit Patricius Romam; et attulit inde reliquias Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, et Stephani Protomartyris; et quod his majus est, attulit linteamen, super quod fuit sanguis Jesu Christi Domini nostri.”

^e *In his stead.*—This is the reason why in the ancient lists of the Archbishops of Armagh (see *Colgan*, p. 292) we find the name of St. Secundinus as St. Patrick's immediate successor, although the testimony of all the authorities makes Secundinus

to have died before St. Patrick.

^f *Secondly.*—The Tripartite Life tells us that these second relics were in number 365. “Nec solum pretiosa, sed et numerosa erant hæc spolia; continebant enim variorum sanctorum trecentas sexaginta quinque reliquias diversas; inter quas principem locum obtinebat linteamen sacratissimo D. N. Jesu Christi sanguine cruentatum, et pars capillorum Virginis Matris.” [Of these, however, the author of our Preface makes no mention.] “Inter eas etiam erant sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum,” &c.—*Vit. Trip.* iii. c. 82.

^g *Were lost.*—See *Vit. Tripart.* iii. c. 78.

Breac, the commemoration of the relics preserved at the monastery of Tamhlacht, or Tallaght, near Dublin, is thus recorded on the 1st of October:—

Peil noempelc uapal
in octimpep etan.

The festival of the noble holy relics [or saint-relics]
[Is celebrated] in the beginning of October.

Upon which the interlineary Gloss notes,—1. *ταρρι Μυρε οργε η να ναρρολ η να νυλε μαρτιο η νοεμ Ερινν απcena πο τινολτα ηι Ταηλachte ιριν πε ριν*—i. e. “The relics of Mary the Virgin, and of the Apostles, and of all the Martyrs and Saints of Erin likewise, were collected in Tamhlacht at that time,” viz. on the 1st of October. And a note on the lower margin, in a mixture of Latin and Irish, adds:—

“*Adventus reliquiarum Jesu Christi et Mariæ Virginis, et prophetarum et apostolorum [Petri] et Poil [Pauli]; co polc Μυρε η να νυλε νοη η μαρτιο η να νοεμ απcena. Ocuρ in can do pochta-tar ταρρι Ρεταρ η Poil co polc Μυρε η να μαρταρε μορε ριλ ac noim Ia Sechnall co hArd-machai. No ιρ and ρein πο πορbanab ρelic Moelpuan ηι Ταηλachteai. No bin ιρ do muin-τιο Ταηλachtei tuchcha na ταρρι η ιρ accu attac, ut dicunt alii. Acbeap apaille ιρ an Aρb Macha ttac istæ reliquæ ι ρεριν Ρεταρ η Poil, ocuρ ιρε Sechnall tuc eat anall ad Hiberniam et in hoc die venerunt.*”

“The coming of the relics of Jesus Christ, and of Mary the Virgin, and of the Prophets, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, with the hair of Mary, and [the relics] of all the virgins, and martyrs, and saints together. And it was then the relics of Peter and Paul, with the hair of Mary, and of the great martyrs, that were at Rome, were brought by Sechnall to Ard Machai. Or it was then that the relics of Moelruain were celebrated at Tamhlacht. Or it was to the family [i. e. the monks] of Tamhlacht the relics were given, and it is there they are, as others say. Others say that it is at Ard Macha these relics are, in the shrine of Peter and Paul, and it was Sechnall that brought them together into Ireland, and on this day they arrived,” i. e. on the 1st of October.

The *Felire* of Aengus was composed in the eighth century, and the gloss and scholia, in the copy of it preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, were added at different times, between that period and the fourteenth century, which is the date of the MS. The tradition of the relics having been brought to Armagh by St. Sechnall seems to have been the only one known to the scholiast on the *Felire*; and we must, therefore, conclude that the *Lives* of St. Patrick (which attribute the importation of the relics to St. Patrick himself) have been since his time interpolated.

In the *Antiphony* of Armagh preserved in the Library of Trinity College, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, there is an office for the commemoration of the relics; but it contains no allusion to St. Sechnall, or anything throwing light on this subject. It does not even state what the relics were.

On the whole, then, it appears, that, assuming the testimony of all these authorities to be true, we have—1. The relics brought to Armagh by St. Patrick at his first coming, according to the testimony of the scholiast on St. Fiech's Hymn. 2. Those brought by St. Patrick, after his visit to Rome, at an advanced period of his life, as recorded by Jocelin and the Tripartite. 3. Those brought by St. Sechnall, as stated by the Preface to the Hymn *Audite omnes*, in the *Leabhar Breac*, and by the Scholiast

to the Felire of Aengus. It is remarkable, however, that the authorities which mention the relics brought to Ireland by St. Patrick say nothing of the mission of St. Sechnall, whilst the authors who speak of the relics brought by St. Sechnall do not appear to be aware of those previously deposited at Armagh by St. Patrick. Is this a proof that the Tripartite Life, which is the oldest authority for this last importation of relics, has been interpolated in the copy which Colgan has translated? The Irish Tripartite Life in the British Museum (of which a beautiful copy by Mr. Curry is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy) has no mention of the relics.

NOTE E.

Of the Metre of the Hymn.

IT must be obvious to every classical scholar that the metre of this Hymn, if metre it can be called, where no quantities are observed, is founded upon the Trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The number of syllables in each verse is the same as in that metre, and the *ictus*, which does not, however, always coincide with the accent, is also the same,—falling upon the first syllables of the first, third, fifth, and seventh feet. The catalectic syllable also is to be found in every line; and it is remarkable that the second syllable of the seventh foot is always short. This is the only instance in which prosody is regularly observed; and there is no example in the Hymn of the violation of this rule, except in line 66, where we have *indutus* pronounced *indūtus*, perhaps by a mistake as to the prosody of the word by the author. The elision of vowels, or of syllables ending in *m*, before a vowel, is entirely disregarded,—of this we have instances in almost every line—

Aŭdi|te om|nēs a|mantes || Déum, | sancta | mérit|a
Viri | in Chris|tō be|ati || Pátri|cī e|piscō|pi.

In the words *Patricii*, in line 2, and *Navigii*, line 19, we must either read, *Patrici*, *Navigi*, or else *Patric-ji*, *Navig-ji*, so as to make three syllables.

Cuius appears to have been made a trisyllable in some places by the author, as verse 36,

Cui|us mul|típl|cantur || ut man|na in mani|bus;

but the transcribers not being accustomed to this, and supposing the line to want a syllable, have inserted *que* or *in*, as in verses 7, 11, 12, 31, 32; nevertheless, *cuius* is a dissyllable in verses 6, 74, 78, where there is no reason to suspect any corrupt transcription. In line 54 I have no doubt the original reading was—

Cuncta ad cuius mensuram sētimat quiesquillo,

and that the reading *quæ cuncta* arose from mistaking *mensuram* in a contracted form for *mensam*. If this be so, *cuius* was here also a dissyllable.

In verse 60, if we retain the reading “tradidit,” *suam* must be read as a monosyllable, like *swam*; but *tradit* is probably the true reading, for the reason stated in the note on that line. So in verse 68, we must either read *spiritali*, or pronounce “spirituali” as if written *spirit-wali*; for as the rhythm is to be measured by syllables, and not by feet, where no prosody is observed, we cannot solve such difficulties by the license allowed in regular metre of substituting equivalent feet for each other, as anapæsts for spondees, tribrachs for trochees, &c.

Dr. Zeuss, in his late learned work *Grammatica Celtica* (Lipsiæ, 1853), has some valuable remarks on the metre of hymns of this kind, and notices the existence of irregular assonances, examples of which are to be found in the hymns of St. Ambrose (who is said to have been the first to introduce hymns of this kind into the Church Service), and of St. Augustine. He calls attention especially to the alphabetical hymn written against the Donatists, by St. Augustine, which is in the popular syllabic rhythm, without metre, and of which every line ends in *e*.

Abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare;
Propter hoc Dominus noster voluit nos præmonere;
Comparans regnum cælorum reticulo misso in mare
Congreganti multos pisces, omne genus hic et inde. Etc.

Each letter of the alphabet contains twelve lines, and each line divides itself into two members, consisting of eight syllables each. Zeuss, having used the old edition of the works of St. Augustine, did not notice a distich, published in the Benedictine edition (August. Opp., tom. xi. p. 1), which is to be repeated in reciting the hymn before each stanza of twelve lines; its lines also end in *e*, but with a second assonance in the penultimate syllable.

Omnes qui gaudetis de pace
Modo verum judicate.

The alphabet extends only from A to V; but at the end are 30 verses, containing an address from the Church, of which St. Augustine says in his *Retractations*, “Tres vero ultimas [literas] omisi, sed pro eis novissimum quasi epilogum adjunxi, tanquam eos mater alloqueretur ecclesia.” This Epilogue begins—

Audite fratres quod dico, et mihi irasci nolite,

and exhibits the same peculiarity of every line ending in *e*.

In this Hymn or Psalm, as it is called, the *m* is sometimes elided before vowels, although not always, and *i* before vowels (as Zeuss has remarked) is pronounced *j*, so as to make one syllable in such words as abundant-ja, evangel-jum, eccles-iam, djabolo, tradit-jone, al-jos, &c. We have seen that a similar pronunciation is occasionally adopted in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

Zeuss has taken notice of the frequent occurrence of assonances in this latter Hymn, which he cites from the reprint of it in Gallandus (Bibl. Patr. x. 183). He instances in the first two stanzas—

Audite | omnes | amantes || Deum, sancta merita
 Viri in Christo beati || Patrici | episcopi,
 Quomodo bonum ob | actum || similatur | angelis,
 Perfectamque propter vitam || | aequatur | apostolis.
 Beata | Christi | custodit | mandata in omnibus,
 | Cujus | opera refulgent || | clara inter | homines
 | Sanctumque cuius | sequuntur | exemplum | mirificum
 Unde et in coelis patrem || magnificent dominum.

It may be doubted, however, how far these jingles should be regarded as any part of the *rule* of this species of poetry; for they occur without any regular law, and in some stanzas are entirely wanting (e. g. Stroph. C, D.). The fact is, that they were not avoided as in the classical Latin poetry, but were rather regarded as a beauty, and their recurrence at irregular intervals was therefore allowable, and perhaps sought for, although not necessary.

In the verses which occur at the end of the Hymn the gradual improvement of the assonances is observable,—for one copy, probably the more ancient one, reads—

Patricii laudes semper dicamus
 Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus,

where the poet was content with an assonance in the single syllable *us*. But another MS. has the improved rhyme on two syllables—

Patricii laudes semper dicamus
 Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.

In this distich it is evident that Patricii must be read Patrici, or Patric-ji.

In another of these “epilogues” the assonance in every line is in the syllable *us* :

Patricius episcopus
 Oret pro nobis omnibus,
 Ut deleantur protinus
 Peccata quae commisimus.

The reader will find a valuable dissertation on the ancient Rhythmical Latin Hymns in Muratori's *Antiquitt. Ital. Med. Ævi.*, *Dissert.* xl.

NOTE F.

Of the Notice of the Hymn in the Book of Armagh. The fourfold honour of St. Patrick.

IN addition to what has been said in the ancient Preface (see p. 33) on the subject of the privilege or indulgence granted by St. Patrick to those who recite this Hymn, or the last three verses of it, it seems desirable to preserve here the curious notice of the Hymn found in the MS. called the Canoin Phadruic (Canon of Patrick), or Book of Armagh; the word *Canon* being doubtless used to signify a collection of sacred books.

Dr. Graves in his valuable paper on the age of this MS., in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. iii. p. 316), has shown, with great probability, that the book was written A. D. 807, and that it is in the handwriting of Ferdomhnach, a celebrated scribe of Armagh, who died in the middle of the ninth century. He remarks, however, that there are indications throughout the MS., in very many places, of its having been transcribed from documents that were even then regarded as of great antiquity, and which had in several passages become obscure.

This MS. is supposed to be the book mentioned by St. Bernard as being the autograph of St. Patrick (*Vit. S. Malach.* c. v.), and the opinion that it was in the handwriting of the Apostle of Ireland prevailed almost to our own times. This opinion probably owed its origin to the name Canon of Patrick, by which the book was commonly known; but there is grave suspicion that some of the erasures made in the volume (although of much more recent date) were intended to prop up this fiction. The existence of the opinion, however, in the age of St. Bernard is a singular evidence of the antiquity of the MS.; and it is not improbable that the copy of the New Testament which it contains was transcribed from one of the MSS. brought to Ireland by St. Patrick. See what Dr. Petrie has said of this volume, in his learned Essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xx. p. 329).

The following notice of the Hymn of St. Patrick occurs in this ancient MS., fol. 16, a. a. :—

	Patricius rex ep̄i honorem quaternum
	omnibus monasteriis ꝛ aedificiis per co-
	tam hiberniam debet habere .i. ep̄i
i.	Sollemnitate dormitionis eius hono-
	rari in medio ueris per .iii. dies ꝛ .iii. noc-
	tes omni bono cibo ꝑi carnem q̄i patricius
ꝥ	ueniret in uita in hortum
ii.	Offeritorium eius proprium in eodem die immolari.
iii.	Gnnum eius per totum tempus cantare.
iiii.	Canticum eius recitatum semper canere.
	Sic omnis .iiii. ip̄a habere debet et ped-
	di a monachis suis sibi qui aedificiam
Gmnur	fundauit uel monasterium ꝛ qui habet
Colmandalo	paruchiam et regiones multas .iiii.
	prebicta habere debet in honore.

This curious notice is valuable from its antiquity, and proves, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Hymn was known, and its recitation enjoined as a pious practice, as early as the close of the eighth century, in Ireland.

The manner of keeping the festival of St. Patrick for three days and three nights, "with all good food, except flesh"—omni bono cibo præter carnem—(the festival

always falling within Lent),—and “as if Patrick had come in life to the door,”—quasi Patricius venisset in vita in hostium [i. e. in ostium]—reminds us of the ancient Jewish practice of reserving a seat for Elias at the ceremony of Circumcision, thus calling him to witness the exact observance of the Law, or lest he should^b come to announce the Advent of Messiah during the solemnity.

The second mark of respect paid to St. Patrick was a special “offertorium,” to his honour on the day of his festival. The language is peculiar, “Offertorium ejus proprium *immolari*”¹; but the meaning seems to be, that a special commemoration of him should be made in the Preface of the Mass, beginning “Vere dignum et justum est,” which in the Gothic and ancient Gallican Missals was termed “Immolatio Missæ,” and in which the proper prefaces commemorative of festivals and saints’ days are introduced.—See Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, lib. iii. p. 188, sq., and 368–9.

The distinction between the *Hymnus* of St. Patrick and his *Scottic Canticum* is remarkable. The *Scottic Canticum*, written in the Irish language, and attributed to St. Patrick himself, is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, and a more fit opportunity will, therefore, occur elsewhere of speaking of it. It was published for the first time by Dr. Petrie, in his valuable paper on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xviii.), and is of undoubted authenticity.

It will be observed also that the writer of this ancient note speaks of the Hymn of Patrick as well known, and as needing no farther or more particular description. It can scarcely be doubted that the “Ymnus ejus” is the same which stands first in the *Liber Hymnorum*, a MS. of not much later date than the Book of Armagh, and which is there entitled “Ymnus Sancti Patricii episcopi Scotorum.” This is a strong external evidence in favour of the antiquity and authenticity of the Hymn; and when we add to this the internal evidence of authenticity it exhibits,—viz. the style of the composition; the absence of all allusion to the more modern traditions contained in the extant lives of St. Patrick; the rude dialect of Latin in which it is composed, which, nevertheless, exhibits a certain knowledge of prosody and rhythm; the fact, also, that it attributes to its hero no miraculous powers, and does not even seem to speak of his ordinary success as a missionary, while it assumes throughout that he is

^b *Lest he should come.*—There may, possibly, be some intimation here of an expectation that Patrick would come again to complete the deliverance of his disciples, on which may have been founded the tradition mentioned by Probus (l. ii. c. 33), that Patrick, as the Apostle of Ireland, is to be the Judge of the Irish people, according to the promise of our Lord to his Apostles, “sedebitis super sedes duodecim,” &c.—See note on line 92 of the Hymn, p. 22, *supra*. In the margin of the MS., on the same line with the words “venisset in uita in hostium,” is

what resembles the letter ξ , with a dot over it. This frequently occurs in the MS., in the handwriting of the original scribe, at passages where there is something obscure, or needing emendation.

¹ *Immolari.*—In the ancient Life of St. Patrick, in the Book of Armagh, this word is frequently used in the sense of *oblation*, or *gift*. Thus a benefactor is said “immolare regiones,” fol. 16; and “immolare filium suum S. Patricio,” fol. 9, 10; also “ecclesiam Deo consecratam Patricioque immolare,” fol. 17; “immolare domum,” fol. 11, et al. pass.

still living and in the flesh,—when, I say, we take into account all these circumstances, in conjunction with the distinct mention of the Hymn in so ancient an authority, we can scarcely doubt the truth of the tradition which ascribes its authorship to a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick, whatever opinion we may adopt as to the exact age of Patrick himself.

It is remarkable, however, that the Latin Hymn is described as appointed to be sung “per totum tempus,” that is, no doubt, during the whole time (the three days and three nights) of the festival of the Apostle, the “solempnitas dormitationis ejus.” But the Scottic Canticum is to be sung *semper*. Are we to infer from this, that this latter Song, in the vernacular Irish, was sung daily, or at all times during the year, in the ancient Irish monasteries, whilst the other was sung only during the festival of St. Patrick “in medio veris?” One reason of this difference may, probably, be, that the Scottic Song was the composition of St. Patrick himself, and was intended as a protection against the assaults of demons and magicians to the person of him who recited it.—See what Dr. Petrie has said of the virtue ascribed to it in his Essay on the History of Tara Hill.

The concluding paragraph of the note in the Book of Armagh appears to signify that the founder of every monastery or *Parochia* (a word which seems used in the Book of Armagh nearly as *Diocese*, territorial jurisdiction, monastic appropriation, endowment) is entitled to the same honours in his respective monastery, or *parish*, as those which all monasteries and churches throughout all Ireland render to St. Patrick. This paragraph may be translated thus :—

“In like manner every one who hath founded a church or a monastery ought to have, and there ought to be rendered unto him by his monks, the same four honours; and he who hath a parish and many regions ought to have the four aforesaid things in his honour.”

In the margin of this passage, on the same line with the words “fundavit vel monasterium et qui habet,” the original scribe has written—

ymnus
Colmanalo

which may, perhaps, be an allusion to a circumstance told by Jocelin, in his Life of St. Patrick, and repeated also, with some variations, in the Tripartite Life, and in the Life of St. Colman-Ela.

Jocelin states that St. Colman-Ela was in the habit of reciting the Hymn of Patrick (viz. the Hymn composed by St. Sechnall in honour of St. Patrick), instead of the usual hours and psalms; and tells the story thus :

“Quidam abbas de discipulis S. Patricii, Colmanus nomine, prædictum hymnum crebro consuevit repetere. Qui cum conveniretur a discipulis, cur non potius horas constitutas, aut Psalmos decantaret, ac dicerent, hymnum semel cantatum sibi debere sufficere, respondit, se dum hymnum cantasset desideratum dilecti sui Patris Patricii jugiter vultum vidisse, nec tamen ex illius contemplatione satiari potuisse.”—*Sexta Vit. S. Patr.* c. 179, p. 104.

The Life of St. Colman-Ela, however (see the passage quoted above, p. 32, note), and the Tripartite Life, mention the circumstance as an event that happened on one occasion only, and do not attribute to the Saint the impropriety of omitting the usual ecclesiastical hours. The Tripartite says :

"Quâdam enim vice dum S. Colmanellus curaret illum hymnum tribus vicibus a fratribus in refectorio decantari, S. Patricius in medio canentium stetit, ibique mansit donec quidam Laicus, qui adfuit, tædio affectus, dixerat, Numquid habetis alios Hymnos vel cantiones, quibus Deum laudetis, præter unicum illum sæpius repetitum? Tunc autem S. Antistes evanuit."—Part iii. c. 92, p. 166.

It is amusing to observe, that Jocelin makes the objection to proceed from the whole body of St. Colman's monks; the Life of St. Colman puts it into the mouth of one of them (the eldest of them) only, "senior ex illis;" but the Tripartite Life attributes it to a certain *layman*, "quidam laicus," who was present, and who was wearied with the length of the psalmody.

St. Colman-Ela was said to have been foretold by St. Patrick, and the place where his church and monastery was to be built pointed out (Jocelin, c. 96, p. 87). It is probable, therefore, that he was known as especially zealous for the honour of St. Patrick, and that the note in the Book of Armagh, as well as the legend just alluded to, may have had its origin from that circumstance; unless we understand the note in the Book of Armagh as intended to intimate that St. Colman-Ela was entitled to the same fourfold honour as that given to St. Patrick, and that a hymn to his praise was then extant.

St. Colman-Ela, so called from *Fidh-ela*, the name of the place where his monastery was built, died, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 610. He is called Colmanellus, and also Columbanus, in the Latinized forms of his name,—Colman and Columba being, in fact, the same name.

The following notice of him is given in the Martyrology of Donegal, at the 26th of September :

Colman eala, abb o Lamb eala a peparb ceall in iapctair Míde. Do fhoót Eadóad mic Muirpeada do fíol Eiperhoim dó, do éaoib a acair, ⁊ beirbfiur do Colam óille a mácair .i. Mor ingén Feidhlimí mic Fergara Cennfada, mic Conuill Gulban, mic Neill naoghiallaig, amail abeir beta Colman fém, cap. i. Ua. a aeir antan po páib a pparac dochum míde. A. C. 610.

Colman-Eala, abbot of Lann-eala in Ferceall¹, in west Meath. On his father's side he was of the race of Eochaidh, son of Muireadach, of the race of Herimon; and his mother was a sister of S. Columb-kille, viz. Mor, daughter of Feidhlimidh, son of Fergus Cenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, as the Life of this same Colman says, cap. i. He was fifty-two years old, when his spirit fled to heaven, A. D. 610.

¹ *Fidh-ela*, afterwards Lann-eala, now Lynally, near Tullamore, in the King's County.—See Ussher's Works (by Elrington), vol. vi. p. 530.

² *Ferceall*.—For the exact boundaries of this district, see Dr. O'Donovan's note, Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1216, p. 189.

II. THE ALPHABETICAL HYMN IN PRAISE OF ST. BRIGID, ATTRIBUTED TO ST. ULTAN, BISHOP OF ARDBRECCAN.

THE following Hymn occurs at the end of a Life of St. Brigid, first published by Colgan, and attributed by him to St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreccan, who died A. D. 656 or 657. This Life he has printed from a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the Monastery of St. Magnus, at Ratisbon, in Bavaria, collated with four other MSS.¹, especially a MS. belonging to the Monastery of St. Autbert, in Cambray, and another which he received from a monastery in the county of Longford.

In all these MSS. the work appears to be anonymous, but Colgan is led to attribute it to St. Ultan, principally on the authority of the Preface to the following Hymn in the *Liber Hymnorum*, which states that St. Ultan composed a Life of St. Brigid, and is by some supposed to have been the author of this Hymn in her praise. It is, therefore (he argues), most probable that the Life, of which the Hymn in question appears to be an integral part, is the Life composed by St. Ultan. The author was certainly an Irishman, for he speaks (in the Hymn) of *nostra Hibernia*; and he lived in very early times, for (in the Life of St. Brigid) he speaks of a "parrochia" and monastery in the district of Siol-Muredhaigh, in the diocese of Elphin, as being in existence, and dedicated

¹ *Four other MSS.*—Colgan has thus described these MSS.: "Unum exemplar hujus vitæ ex Codice Mon. S. Autberti Cameraci, ab antiquitatis magno veneratore et indagatori solerti D. Georgio Colverio, accepimus; aliud ex MS. Monast. Insulæ Sanctorum in Comitatu Longfordiæ in Hiberniæ; 3^m. ex vetustis membranis Carthusiæ Colonienensis; 4^m. quod hic damus, ex vetustissimo codice Monast. S. Magni Ratisponæ in Bavaria, caractere

Hibernico, et ut videtur ante sexcentos vel septingentos annos exarato: quintum habetur in monasterio Dunensi [? Bruges] in Flandria. Ex quibus vel satis facile colligitur authoris vetustas, cum pleraque ex his exemplaribus sint scripta ante annos quingentos et aliqua ante septingentos."—*Tr. Thaum.* p. 542. This Life has also been published by the Bollandists (at 1 Feb.) from a MS. in the Church of St. Omer's.

to St. Brigid, when he wrote,—“nam parrochia est magna hodie S. Brigidæ in illis regionibus”¹. Some further observations on the authorship of the Hymn will be found in the Additional Notes.

It is an alphabetical Hymn, containing, however, only the last three letters, X, Y, Z², together with what is called a first verse beginning *Audite virginis laudes*; which first verse, both in the *Liber Hymnorum*, and in the Life of Brigid published by Colgan, occurs after the three former.

It is certain that the line *Christus in nostra insula* was from very early times regarded as the beginning of the Hymn, for it is so quoted in an ancient collection of hymns which has been written in the beginning of a still more ancient copy of the Greek Psalter³, in Irish characters, preserved in the Library of Bâle (A. vii. 3). This remarkable MS. the Editor had the privilege of examining in the summer of 1852. The Psalter cannot be of later date than the ninth or tenth century; and the Hymns written in the first few leaves are in an Irish hand, not later than the twelfth century. The first Hymn is that beginning—

Cantemus in omni die
Concinantes varie

which is given at full length. Then follows a prayer to the B. V. Mary, beginning “Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, mater et Virgo Maria.” Then the Hymn—

Alta audite TA EPRA
Toto mundo micantia,

which is also given at full length; and then—

¹ *In illis regionibus*—cap. 9. (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 528). Colgan remarks on this passage (n. 7, p. 543), “Unde author indicat se vetustum esse, dum dicit suo tempore illum districtum et ita amplum fuisse ut regiones ad cum pertinerent, et ad S. Brigidam spectasse; quandoquidem a multis seculis nec tam amplus fuerit, nec ad ordinem S. Brigidæ spectaverit.”

² X, Y, Z.—The indulgence granted to the repetition of the Hymn of St. Patrick (see above, p. 33) was ultimately conceded to the last three verses of it, viz. those be-

ginning with the letters X, Y, and Z; so that the repetition of these verses was equivalent to the repetition of the whole Hymn. Was it on this principle that the Hymn to St. Brigid contained only the verses beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet?

³ *Greek Psalter*.—Dr. Keller has given a fac-simile of the characters used in this Psalter, in his learned paper, “Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken,” p. 86, and Taf. xiii. 5. (*Mittheilungen der Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zurich*, vii. Band.)

item, xp̄s in nostra insula que uocatur,

of which no more than these words are given, it being evidently then so well known that the writer did not deem it necessary to transcribe it at length. Then follows the verse :

Sancta virgo virginum Maria

Intercede pro nobis.

Incipit epistola salvatoris Domini nostri Ihu Xpi
ad s . . dgarum.

Deus meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus
cui omnia subjecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deservit.

Over the words "sancta virgo," in the same handwriting, occurs the word "beatissima."

The above is probably a part of an ancient office, of which the Hymn *Christus in nostra insula* formed a part; and it is curious that the Epistle of our Lord to Abgarus appears to have been used as a Lesson, which is a singular proof of the antiquity of the office.

In the *Liber Hymnorum* the following Hymn is preceded by a short Preface, in Irish, which is here printed exactly as it stands, except that the contractions of the MS. are not preserved. The Hymn is accompanied by an occasional interlineary gloss, now for the first time printed, but it has no rubrical heading or general title. In Colgan's edition it is entitled "Hymnus de Brigidâ Virgine," but whether this title was added by himself, or was found by him in the MS. from which he printed, does not appear.

The care taken to ascertain the author of every Hymn, by prefixing the curious historical prefaces which occur in the *Liber Hymnorum*, was probably in compliance with the 23rd Canon of the second Council of Tours (A. D. 567), or with some corresponding ecclesiastical regulation which was of force in Ireland. This canon is as follows :—"Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habeamus in canone, tamen quoniam reliquorum sunt aliqui, qui digni sunt forma cantari, volumus libenter amplecti eos præterea, quorum auctorum nomina fuerint in limine prænotata : quoniam quæ fide constiterint dicendi ratione non obstant"¹.

¹ Concil. Labb. et Cossart. tom. v. 863. The connexion between the Church of Ireland and the Church of Tours in early times is well known.



xps IN NOSTRA. Ninnib lámaban mac echach ipre do nignu hunc cmmum do bñigic.
 Uel ip piac fleibte do nigne. Dicunt alii combad Ultan aipdbreccan do gnet. Ap
 ire po teclamarcar penta bñigte in oén lebor. Aubice uirginip lauber ire a chor-
 pach. Opb aipgitech fair. Tné nuchim dñe do nigne. Tpi caibet anb, 7 cethpi
 lñi cech caibet 7 re pillaba déc cech lñe. Dicunt alii combad móp mcomunra,
 achte ni failer fund achte cethpi caibet de, .i. in cet caibet, 7 na tpi caibet
 debenchá, caupa breuitatip.



ps IN NOSTRA insola que uocatur hibernia
 ostensus est hominibus maximis mirabilibus
 que perfecit per felicem celestis uite uirginem
 precellentem pro merito magno in mundi circulo

S MNUS iste angelice summeque sancte brigite
 pari non ualet omnia uirtutum mirabilia
 que nostris nunquam auribus si sint facta audiuimus
 nisi per istam uirginem marie sancte similem

GLOSS.—7. *Si sint facta*.—i. ab alia virgine. 8. *Similem*.—i. ap ipi bñigic maire na ngoibel
 [i. e. for Brigid is the Mary of the Gaedhel (or Irish)].

1. *Christus in nostra*.—See a translation of the Preface, with some observations and illustrations, in the Additional Notes. It will be observed that there is in this Hymn a rhyme or assonance in the middle and end of each line: *insola, Hibernia; hominibus, mirabilibus; felicem, uirginem; merito, circulo, &c.*

6. *Fari non ualet*.—This passage is probably the authority for Ware's assertion

that St. Ultan wrote an *alphabetical* narrative of the miracles of St. Brigid. He says,—“Ultanus mac Conchubhair episcopus Ardracannensis miracula Brigidæ in unum collegit librum, ordine alphabetico”—*De scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, c. iii.; but the book of miracles was certainly not the same as the alphabetical hymn, and was, in all probability, in Irish.

8. *Mariæ sanctæ*.—See the Gloss, and

SONA SANCTE MILITIE SANCTOS LUMBOS PRECINGERE
 CONSUEUIT DIURNO NOCTURNO QUOQUE STUDIO 10
 CONSUMMATO CERTAMINE SUMPSIT PALMAM VICTORIE
 REFULGENS MAGNO SPLENDORE UT SOL IN COELI CULMINE

AUDITE VIRGINIS LAUDES SANCTA QUOQUE MERITA
 PERFECTIONEM QUAM PROMISIT VIRILITER IMPLEUIT
 ΧΡΙ MATREM SE SPONDIT DICTIS ET FECIT FACTIS 15
 BRIGIDA AUT AMATA UERI DEI REGINA

Ἐριγίδα παντα πεδulo πῖτ in νορτρο auxilio ut merreamur
 coronam habere ac letitiam in conspectu angelorum in pecula
 peculorum.

Gloss.—9. *Militia*.—i. contra diabulum et uitia. *Lumbos*.—i. carnales voluntates. 11. *Certamine*.—i. mundi præsents, ut apostolus dicit, certamen bonum certavi, cursum consummavi. *Palmam*.—i. premium. *Victoria*.—i. ded et vivis. 12. *Refulgens*.—i. ut dicitur, fulgebant justi sicut sol in regno patris eorum. 13. *Laudes*, vel jura ἡ κοῖν [or *jura* is the right reading]. *Sancta*.—i. Ἐριγίτ and co po nepcāt don merita τῆς [i. e. Brigid is implied in this, so as to answer to the *merita* below]. 14. *Perfectionem*.—Commaḃhe po κοῖν inḃ line [this may be the correct form of this line]; i. perfectionem promisit quam viriliter implebit. 15. *Dictis*.—Comaḃ he po ḃna [it may be this, however,] dictis atque factis fecit. 16. *Regina*.—Vel et regina.

comp. v. 15. In the Additional Note B will be found some remarks on this title given to St. Brigid.

10. *Consuevit*.—This line seems imperfect, as it consists of fourteen instead of sixteen syllables; *consuevit* may have been read as if of four syllables, but this would still leave one syllable short. Perhaps we should read “et diurno.”

12. *Ut sol in*.—One of Colgan’s MSS. reads “et velut cœli culmine.”

13. *Audite*.—This stanza cannot have been by the same author as the foregoing. Neither the rhythm or assonances, nor the metre or number of syllables, is exactly observed. Verses 13 and 15 consist of but fifteen syllables, and verse 16 of

fourteen only. If we adopt the reading given by Colgan, suggested also in the Gloss on ver. 15, “dictis atque factis fecit,” the number of syllables in that line will be corrected. The suggestion of the scholiast’s preface (see p. 63), that the Hymn originally consisted of a *capitulum* for every letter of the alphabet, is unnecessary. Alphabetical poems containing stanzas for the last three letters of the alphabet only were common. See an example, *Irish version of Nennius*, Introd. p. 10. These three letters were selected because they were a triad, and because they began with the symbol or abbreviation for *Christus*.

16. *Aut amata*.—Colgan reads “auto-mata,” and he has appended to the word the

following note : "*Brigida autumata*.—In Codice Hibernico [i.e., I presume, the MS. of the *Tertia Vita*, which he had obtained from the monastery in the county of Longford] *Antomata* : rectius forte *automata*, quæ vox significat instrumenta mechanica ita subtiliter et artificiose fabricata, ut sua sponte, seu se ipsis nullaue apparente causa vel motore moveantur; *αὐτοματων* enim idem est quod *ultroneum*, seu *sus spontis*"—(*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 545). He does not, however, explain what the meaning of the verse will be if we adopt this reading :—"Brigid of her own will the Queen of the true God," seems strange theology, if, indeed, it have any meaning. But it is singular that Colgan (apparently without knowing it) gives, as if it had been in his text, what is unquestionably the true reading, *Brigida autumata* : of

which "*aut amata*" is evidently a corruption :—"Brigid, who is esteemed, or believed to be, the Queen of the true God." In Colgan's copy there is a reference from the word *Dei* to the words "*al. Cæll*," in the margin. This is, no doubt, an error of the press for *Cæli* : but *veri* is inconsistent with this reading, as we can scarcely suppose the author to have written "*veri cæli regina*." We must therefore regard *cæli* as the suggestion of some transcriber or scholiast, who did not feel quite satisfied with the phrase "*veri Dei Regina*."

—
Brigida sancta.—These words seem to be the substance of a Collect, or Antiphon, in an ancient office of St. Brigid. Colgan evidently took them for a distich of the Hymn, and has printed them as such (see Add. Notes, p. 63).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Preface to the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the historical Preface or Introduction to this Hymn:—

"CHRISTUS IN NOSTRA. Ninnidh Laimidan, son of Eochadh, was he who made this Hymn in honour of Brigid. Or it was Fiach of Slebte that composed it. Dicunt alii, that it was Ultan of Ardbreccan who composed it: for it was he that put together the miracles of Brigid in one book. *Audite virginis laudes* is its beginning. The alphabetical order is in it. Moreover he composed it in rhythm. There are three chapters in it, and four lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line. Dicunt alii, that this Hymn was originally long, but that there remain here only four chapters of it, viz. the first chapter, and the last three chapters, *causa brevitatis*."

Three writers are here named to whom the authorship of this Hymn was variously ascribed. The first is Ninnidh, Ninnidius, or Nennius, surnamed Laimidan [Laim 100han] *of the undefiled hand*, from a circumstance recorded in the Lives of St. Brigid. His first meeting with her, when a youth, is thus described in the ancient Life which Colgan attributes to St. Ultan (cap. 78):—

"Quadam die S. Brigida cum suis virginibus ambulabat in loco campestri, et vidit quendam juvenem scholasticum, currentem velociter; et ait illi, Juvenis, quo tu curris tam cito. Ille respondit, dicens, Ad regnum Dei. Dixitque ei Brigida, Utinam merear tecum currere: ora pro me, ut istud valeam. Respondit scholasticus, Tu roga Deum, ut cursus meus non impediatur, et ego vicissim pro te rogabo ut tu et mille comites tecum vadant ad regnum Dei. Tunc S. Brigida pro juvene rogavit Dominum: et in illis diebus ipse poenitentiam egit, et fuit religiosus usque ad mortem suam."

The later lives add to this simple narrative that the young scholar was Ninnidh, son of Eochaidh, afterwards abbot of Inis-muighe-samh [now Inishmacsaint], an island in Loch Erne, and that Brigid on this occasion predicted that from his hand she herself should receive the holy viaticum on the day of her death. On hearing this prophecy Ninnidh enclosed his right hand in a brazen (others say a silver) case, which he kept

continually locked, lest the hand destined to give the holy Communion to St. Brigid should ever be defiled by the touch of anything unclean. From this circumstance he derived the appellation of "Ninnidh of the undefiled hand"^a.

St. Brigid is supposed to have died A. D. 523, and Ninnidh, as we learn from his genealogy, was the fifth in lineal descent from King Loegaire, who flourished in the time of St. Patrick. He may therefore have lived until the middle of the sixth century. See his Life collected by Colgan at the 18th of January.

The second author to whom the Hymn is ascribed is Fiach, Bishop of Sletty, the same who composed the Irish poem in praise of St. Patrick, which Colgan has published as the first Life of that saint. This author died about A. D. 530. See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, pp. 4 and 217.

The third author is St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbraccan in Meath, who died at a great age A. D. 656.

The claims of this last author are by Colgan strongly preferred, on the ground that he is stated by the ancient scholiast, or author of the Preface, to have composed a Life of St. Brigid; and as the ancient Life^b found in the monastery of St. Magnus, at Ratis-

^a *Of the undefiled hand.*—The story is thus told by the author of the fourth Life, which Colgan attributes to Anmchad or Animosus—"Ninnidius volens ab illa die manum suam mundissimam servare, de qua beatissima Brigida prædixit, ut in die exitus sui divinum viaticum sumeret, fecit circa eam æneam arctam manicam cum sera et clavi, ne illa corpus suum tangeret, neque de aliquo immundo tangeretur. Inde agnomen ipse habet: nam Scotice vocatur *Ninnidh lam glan*, quod sonat Latine Ninnidius manus mundæ."—Cap. 63, p. 559. According to the spelling of the name in the Liber Hymnorum, the etymology of it is lam iobhan, rather than lam glan.

^b *The ancient Life.*—In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is a paper copy of this Life, taken in the seventeenth century from an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library. It has been collated throughout by Archbishop Ussher in his own hand, and various readings added in the margin; and it appears from the following autograph note in the beginning, that Ussher also was disposed to regard it as St. Ultan's. He says: "Descripta est Vita hæc Brigidæ ex antiquo MS. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, cui consimilia, sed aliquanto plenior, habetur in vetus-

tissimo Codice cœnobii S. Magni, Canonicorum Regularium B. Augustini ad pedem pontis Ratisbonæ in Baviarâ. Ad cuius finem habetur Hymnus in Laudem Brigidæ, cujus initium 'Christus in nostra insula, Quæ vocatur Hibernia, &c.' quem in aliis codicibus Ultano Ardbraccanensi attributum invenimus virtutum S. Brigidæ scriptori, quem hujus Vitæ authorem fuisse omnino existimamus. Unde, ex Stephani Viti apographo, variantes lectiones ad marginem apposuimus: additis hic capitibus illis quæ a codice Cottoniano absunt."

This MS. does not contain the Hymn at the end; and it also omits several chapters, amongst others the following (adopting Colgan's numbering)—c. 14, 28, part of c. 46, c. 47, 48, 55, 68, 69, 70, 78, 79.

The Bollandists have published this Life as of an anonymous author, without noticing the opinion of Colgan that St. Ultan was the author. They have edited it from a MS. in the Church of St. Omer's, which does not appear to have had the Hymn at the end. At least the Editor has made no mention whatsoever of the Hymn, either at the end of the Life, or in his Prolegomena, but passes it over in complete silence, as if ignorant of its existence.—*Act. Sanctorum*, tom i. Febr. p. 118 sq.

bon, contains at the end this very Hymn, Colgan draws the double conclusion; first, that that Life is the work of St. Ultan alluded to by the scholiast, and second, that St. Ultan was therefore the author of the Hymn. He says:—

“ Porro S. Ultanum esse authorem illius hymni, et per consequens hujus Vitæ, colligimus ex vetusto Scholiaste ejusdem hymni Nam licet ipse ibi dubitet an S. Nennidius, an S. Fiegus, an potius S. Ultanus sit author istius hymni, colligitur tamen ex verbis ejus S. Ultanum esse et hymni et vitæ hujus authorem; cum dicat ipsum et hymnum in laudem S. Brigidæ scripsisse, et hymnus idem, quem ille citat, uno volumine habeantur^c; et utrumque juxta dicta, ab eodem authore sit conscriptum; relinquatur quod S. Ultanus sit author utriusque, non vero quispiam ex illis aliis, qui nusquam leguntur Vitam S. Brigidæ uno vel pluribus libris scripsisse.”—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 542.

The scholiast, however, does not say that St. Ultan composed a hymn in praise of St. Brigid; all he does assert is, that St. Ultan brought together into one book the miracles of Brigid, and that some have *therefore* supposed him to be the author of the hymn in question. In fact, Colgan's argument rests on a weak foundation; and we must content ourselves with leaving the question of the authorship of the Hymn in the same ambiguity and doubt in which it is left by the ancient scholiast; a doubt which must also attach itself to the authorship of the Life which Colgan has attributed to St. Ultan. For it is evident that he builds too much on the circumstance that the Hymn before us has been appended to this Life, and written by the ancient scribe as if it were a part of it. This appears to have been the case in one MS. only, and is certainly not the case in all the MSS. of that Life. Nothing was more common than to write such verses at the end of similar works; and an example of this custom is exhibited by Colgan himself, who has published from another MS. of this very same Life, a quite different set of verses, which were undoubtedly not written by St. Ultan, or at least not by the author of the Hymn.

It would seem that Colgan's MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* had a Preface to the Hymn before us, which, although for substance the same, differed in some particulars from that now published. The following is his account of it (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 545, note 80):—

“ Idem Hymnus habetur in Codice illo vulgari Hibernico quem nostri Antiquarii *Leabhar Iomann*, id est, Liber Hymnorum, vocant, in eo enim continentur multi hymni a diversis Hiberniæ sanctis compositi; et ex eo ultimum versum in codice S. Magni desideratum accepimus; in eoque huic nostro hymno vetustus Scholiastes prefigit hoc prohemium seu argumentum. *Sanctus Nennidius laimh-iodhan, id est mundimanus, composuit hunc hymnum in laudem S. Brigidæ; vel sanctus Fiegus Sleptensis. Audite Virginis laudes est eius initium; vel S. Ultanus de Ardbrecain composuit in S. Brigidæ laudem: ipse enim com-*

^c *Habeantur.*—There is evidently some misprint, and very probably the omission of a line or two in this passage. This portion of Colgan's work is full of typographical blunders of the most careless de-

scription. He evidently meant to say that the Life by St. Ultan and the Hymn were to be found in the same volume. But this statement is not made in the Preface of the ancient scholiast.

prehendit miracula S. Brigidæ uno libro. Ordo alphabeticus in eo servatur, et ad imitationem rithmi Noscarii compositus est. Quatuor sunt in eo capitula et quatuor lineæ in singulis capitulis, et sedecim syllabæ in qualibet lined."

This agrees with the Preface of the Dublin MS., except as to the number of *capitula* of which the Hymn is said to consist. The Dublin copy gives two opinions on this point; one is that the Hymn had but three capitula, namely, the three which begin with the letters X, Y, and Z. The other opinion is, that the Hymn had originally a capitulum for every letter of the alphabet, but that of these only four now remain, viz. that beginning *Audite virginis laudes*, which was the first, and the three beginning with X, Y, and Z, which were the last, all the intervening capitula being lost.

Colgan's *Liber Hymnorum*, however, states that the Hymn has four capitula, without noticing any other opinion, and without intimating that it was originally longer, or that any of it was omitted or lost. Both Prefaces agree in excluding the lines beginning *Brigida sancta sedulo*, which are therefore no part of the Hymn, but are of the nature of an antiphon to be said after the Hymn.

It must be evident to the critical reader that the stanza *Audite* is a subsequent addition, and that the three preceding stanzas are in fact the Hymn, as stated in the Preface to the Dublin copy. The verses *Audite*, &c., do not obey the laws of the metre either as to assonances or number of syllables, and cannot therefore have been a part of the Hymn to which the other stanzas belonged.

With respect to the lines *Brigida sancta*, &c., Colgan tells us incidentally that they do not occur in the ancient Ratisbon MS. from which he edited this Life of St. Brigid. They are therefore probably of a later date. In the Dublin MS. they are written as prose, although they are evidently verses, and obey the laws of the metre both in number of syllables and in the assonances.

Brigida sancta sedulo || sit nostro in auxilio
Ut mereamur coronam || habere ac lætitiā
In conspectu Angelorum || in secula seculorum.

Colgan adds the following, which does not occur in the Dublin copy, and which has too many syllables to be considered as the fourth line of the stanza:—

"Christe Jesu, author bonorum, miserere, obsecro, omnium."

But perhaps we should read,

"Christe Jesu, author bonorum, miserere, obsecro. Amen."

To this Colgan adds another short poem, or *carmen*, as he styles it, of higher pretensions, and of more elaborate composition. It is found in the MS. of the monastery of St. Autbert at Cambray, and is, in that MS. (as Colgan declares) attributed to the same author who composed the Life and the Hymn.

Brigida nomen habet, gemino et diademate fulget,	Divitias, pompas, horruit et fragiles.
Quam colimus fratres, Brigida nomen habet.	Gaudia perpetue spectans et præmia vitæ,
Virgo fuit Domini, mundo et crucifixa manebat,	Suscepit certæ gaudia perpetue.
Intus et exterius Virgo fuit Domini.	E superis resonat intus cum sedibus Echo
Despicebat ovans instantis gaudia Vitæ,	Tubarum sublimis ^d , e superis resonat.
Et falsos fastus despicebat ovans.	Mitte beata preces, pro nobis, Virgo benigna
Horruit et fragiles mundi fallentis honores,	Ad Dominum semper mitte beata preces.

It is difficult to suppose that these verses are by the same author^e who composed the rude lines that precede. They do not occur in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

With respect to the Metre of the Hymn, it is described in both copies of the Scholiast's Preface, as consisting of stanzas or capitula of four lines, with sixteen syllables in each line. But instead of the words in the Dublin MS., *Ἦμε πικρὸν ὄνομα πικρὸν*, which appear to allude to the assonances in the middle and end of each line, Colgan's MS. seems to have had a different reading, which he translates, "et ad imitationem rithmi Noscarii compositus est." What the *Rithmus Noscarius* is, the Editor is unable to say. Could it be an error of the press for *Rythmus Nostratis*, intimating that the Irish rules of concord or alliteration in the initial consonants are observed? (See O'Donovan's Grammar, p. 413, 414). Thus, ver. 1 has *in, insola, Hibernia*; ver. 2 has *ostensus est, ho, m, m*; ver. 3 has *per, per, vi, vi*; ver. 4 has *pre, pro, m, m*, and so on.

NOTE B.

St. Brigid the Mary of the Irish.

IN the MS. called the *Leabhar Breac*, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, there is a panegyric or Life of St. Brigid, containing an abstract of her miracles, evidently drawn up from the Life which Colgan ascribes to St. Ultan. This piece, which, from its language, appears to be a production of not later than the tenth century, was obviously intended as a sort of sermon to be read to the people on the feast

^d *Tubarum sublimis*.—This is obscure. Colgan proposes to read, "Cum tuba sublimis," and explains it thus: "quasi sensus sit, quod petat intercessionem Beatæ Brigidæ, cum resonabit tuba supremi Judicii."—Not. 83, p. 545. But could it not mean "the sublime echo of trumpets?" A learned friend suggests that "certæ," in line 10, ought to be *castæ*, used as a substantive in the sense of *virginis*. He also proposes "tubarum limbis," for *tubarum sublimis*, in ver. 13.

^e *Same author*.—Colgan says, "Huic carmini subscriptum reperio, quod sit ejusdem authoris, qui vitam præcedentem et hymnum composuit."—Note 82, p. 545. It is to be regretted that he did not give this *subscriptum* just as he found it. We are to conclude, it is presumed, that the MS. of St. Aubert's contains the hymn *Christus in nostra*, as well as the *Carmen*; but it would have been interesting to know whether this MS. had the supposititious stanzas, *Audite*, and *Brigida sancta*.

of St. Brigid. It contains, amongst other praises of her innumerable virtues, the following:—

Ni poibe epra nech ba nairiu, na ba peli mbar in noem og rin. Ni po nizeptar riam a lama, nað a corpa, nað a cend, eciþ þeþaib. Ni po ðfech ðin, riam in ngnur þeþcali. Ni po labra eciþ oen loþri ði. Ða hain-tech, Ða henbað, Ða heþnebach, Ða þoit-nech, Ða þalib i tinnab ðe, Ða cobraib, Ða humal. Ða ðilgebach ðeþeþach. Ða comþa coþeþeþa coimeþa chuipþ Cþiþ. Ða tempol Ðe. Ða þiþþibe eaiþme ðon rþiþut noeb a oþibe ocup a menma. Ða ðuut þri Ðia. Ða corþech ðo þnoþaib. Ða hécþoht hi þeþaib. Iþ aþe rin iþé a þamail eciþ ðálib, colum eþeþ énaib, þnemain eþeþ þeþaib, þþian uap þennaib.

ISe a haþap na noem oþiþe, in eathaiþ nembal. Iþe a mac Iþu Cþiþ, iþe a haite in Spriþut noeb. Conib aþe rin ðo þri in noem oþra na mþbuli moþa ðiaþmeþe ri. IS hi þoþeaiþeþri Ða oéð oen þiþ hi cumca ocup hi nþuapacht. Iþi eþaechap na eþmanna, iþ i coþneþ conþþaiþ ocup þeþþ in maþa moþi. Iþi þeo Ðan eaiþþeþeaiþ Cþiþ. Iþi þiþan in ðeþeþeþeþ. Iþi Muþe na nþoeþel.

There was not in existence one of more bashfulness and modesty than this holy Virgin. She never washed her hands, or her feet, or her head, before men. She never looked a man in the face. She never spoke without blushing. She was abstinent, unblemished, prayerful, patient, joying in the commandments of God, benevolent, humble, forgiving, charitable. She was a consecrated shrine for the preservation of the Body of Christ. She was a Temple of God. Her heart and her mind were a resting throne for the Holy Spirit. She was meek before God. She was distressed with the wretched. She was bright in miracles. And hence it is that her type among created things is the Dove among birds; the Vine among trees; and the Sun above the stars.

The Father of this holy Virgin was the Heavenly Father; her Son was Jesus Christ; her tutor was the Holy Spirit. And it was, therefore, that this holy Virgin performed those great innumerable miracles. It is she that relieves every one that is in difficulty and in danger. It is she that restrains the roaring billows, and the anger of the great sea. She is the prophesied woman of Christ. She is the Queen of the South. She is the Mary of the Gaeidhil.

This panegyric is sufficiently extravagant:—that the Father of St. Brigid is the Heavenly Father; that her son is Jesus Christ; that she is the Queen of the South (see St. Matt. xii. 42) prophesied of by Christ; that she is the Mary of the Gaeidhil or Irish. But the language used in some other authorities is still more strange, and seems at first sight to imply that she was the very Mother of Christ Himself, the same in form and feature, as if the B. V. Mary had reappeared on earth in the person of St. Brigid. Thus, in the third Life, ascribed to St. Ultan, and more at length in the Irish Life', quoted by Colgan, we read :—That when she was quite a child, a certain

'*The Irish Life*.—The following is Colgan's version of this legend from his Irish Life;—"Ita vita Hibernica S. Brigide, c. 12. Quodam die virgo quosdam Deo dicata venit ad Dubthacum petens ut St. Brigida secum proficisceretur ad quamdam synodum Seniorum Lagenensium congregatam in

campo Liffe. Tunc in visione erat revelatum cuidam Seniori, qui erat in Synodo, et vocabatur Hibernus, quod S. Maria die sequenti erat ventura ad istam Synodum, cujus et speciem et formam aliis prænuntiavit. Sequenti ergo die et illa alia Virgo et Brigida venerunt ad Synodum quæ tunc congregata

holy virgin [or widow] obtained permission to take St. Brigid with her to a Synod of the clergy of Leinster, which was to be held at the place afterwards called Kildare. An aged saint, who was present at the Synod, announced to the clergy that he had seen the B. V. Mary in a vision, and that on the following day she would appear in the midst of them. Accordingly, on the next day, St. Brigid and her companion arrived; and the aged saint, when he saw her, immediately cried out, This is holy Mary, whom I saw last night in my vision. "Then all the people gave praise to St. Brigid, on account of that name of Mary, which was then given her. And from thence she was called the Mary of the Irish." Or, as the author of the Third Life tells the story,— "Then the holy man said, 'This is Mary whom I saw, for I plainly recognise her form.' Then all gave glory unto her, as being in the shape of Mary." "Tunc omnes glorificaverunt eam, quasi in typo Mariæ"^s.

Here when it is said that Brigid was "in the type of Mary," the meaning, perhaps, may be that she resembled in form and figure the Person of the Blessed Virgin; not that she was actually the Blessed Virgin, reappearing upon earth, but that, from the close resemblance of her features to those of Mary, and from her having been seen in the vision as Mary, and been called by the angel as "Holy Mary that dwells amongst you," she was saluted by the assembled Synod as Mary, and was thenceforth regarded as "the Mary of the Irish."

And in like manner other panegyrics give her the attributes of the B. V. Mary; for they call her "Mother of Christ," and "Mother of our Heavenly Lord." Thus, the ancient Irish Hymn^h attributed to St. Columkille, but by some to St. Ultan, has the following words :

Do pobba inunn an colla ciru,	She annihilates the sins of the flesh in us—
in chnoeb co mblachair, in machair lru,	This flowering Tree, this Mother of Jesus,
inb in og inman co noibbain abbair,	The perfect Virgin, beloved, of sublime dignity,
biam roep cech mbair lam noeb do laigrib.	I shall be saved at all times by my Leinster Saint.

erat in loco qui postea Kildaria dicta est. Tunc ille sanctus, qui vidit visionem, cum videret Brigidam venientem, ait: ista est sancta Maria, quæ mihi hac nocte in visione præostensa est. Totus populus tunc extollebat S. Brigidam propter nomen illud, quo insignita est, Mariæ. Et ab inde vocata est Maria Hibernorum." In the third Life, attributed to St. Ultan, the story is told thus:—"Religiosa quædam vidua in proximo vico habitans, postulavit a patre ejus, ut S. Brigida secum iret ad Synodum quæ collecta erat in campo Liffi et a patre permittitur. At illæ egressæ sunt viam. Tunc vir

Sanctus in Synodo dormiens vidit visionem, et surgens ait, Vidi Mariam, et quendam virum stantem cum ea, qui ait mihi, Hæc est sancta Maria, quæ habitat inter vos. Et cum hæc vir Sanctus narrasset in Synodo, statim supervenit vidua cum S. Brigida. Tunc vir Sanctus dixit, Hæc est Maria, quam vidi: quia formam illius manifeste cognosco. Tunc omnes glorificaverunt eam, quasi in typo Mariæ."—cap. 14. The same story is given also in the Life or Panegyric of St. Brigid in the *Leabhar Breac*.

^s *Mariæ*.—Cap. 14 (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 528).

^h *Irish Hymn*.—This Hymn has been pub.

And so also St. Brogan Cloen, in his Irish poem¹, which Colgan has printed as the first Life :

brígid machair mo rupech
nime, platha pepp cnuir.

Brigit, mother of my Lord
Of heaven, a Sovereign the best born.

In these passages Brigid is strangely spoken of, not as *resembling* the Virgin Mary in feature, or even in purity and sanctity, but as partaking with her, in some mystical sense, of the prerogative of being Mother of Jesus, "Mother of my Lord of heaven." Nevertheless, it is certain that the idea of a reappearance of Mary, in the person of St. Brigid, which would make them one and the same person, was not in the minds of these writers, notwithstanding the extravagance of their language ; for St. Brogan Cloen afterwards says :

In caillech neibeb cupnech
nó póiach fua feba pég,
ní fuar arpet acht Maíne
admunemar mo brígid.

The veiled Virgin who drives over the Currech²
Is a shield against sharp weapons ;
None was found her equal, except Mary,
Let us put our trust in my strength.

In the last line there is a play upon the name of St. Brigid, and the Irish word *brígi*, strength. And again :

Cach nó chuala cach nó gab,
nó be bennacht brígte fap,
bennacht brígte ocu De,
póp don pabac immalle.

Every one that hears, every one that repeats [this poem],
The blessing of Brigid be on him ;
The blessing of Brigid and of God
Be upon them that recite it together.

Pail bí chaillig iprícheb,
nó chopnagur dom díohill,
Maíne 7 pante brígid,
póp apoerram dun díblinaib.

There are two Virgins³ in heaven,
Who will not give me a forgetful protection,
Mary, and Saint Brigid,
Under the protection of them both may we remain.

Here it is clear that Mary and Brigid are spoken of as two distinct beings, and the notion of a reappearance of the former in the person of the latter is excluded.

The words of the supposed first stanza of the Hymn in the text (taking the cor-

lished in a Latin version by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 606, n. 23). It occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 32, from which it is here cited. The Scholiast in the Preface states, that St. Columkille is supposed to be the author, but he adds, "or it was Ultan of Ardbreccan who made this Hymn."

¹ *Irish poem*.—This poem occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 33. I have made the quotations from the original, as Colgan's text is full of typographical errors.

² *The Currech*.—i. e. the Curragh of Kildare. The scholiast in a gloss on this word says, "cup-nech a cursu equorum dictus est;" a curious proof of the antiquity of its use as a race-course: to which, perhaps, some allusion may be intended in the description of St. Brigid, as "the Nun (or veiled virgin) who drives over the Currech."

³ *Two Virgins*.—The word *caillech*, here used, signifies a veiled or consecrated virgin, a nun, derived probably from the Latin *cucullus*.

rected reading of *autumata*, for *aut amata*) are also remarkable: *Christi matrem se spon-*
dū; "she promised, or pledged herself to be Christ's mother, and made herself so
by words and deeds, Brigid, who is esteemed the Queen of the true God." The Hymn
itself, however (v. 8), is content with the statement that she was a Virgin like to Holy
Mary, "*Mariæ sanctæ similem*."

Our Lord has said (St. Matt. xii. 50) that whosoever shall do the will of God, "the
same is His brother, and sister and *mother*," and this perhaps may be all that is meant
by St. Brigid's *pledging herself to be* the Mother of Christ, and *making herself so* by
words and deeds. Colgan explains it thus (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 622): "*Quod a tempore*
juventutis suæ Christum in suo pectore gestabat: nam non solum omnes suas actiones
in Deum referebat, sed et simul continua mentis elevatione et absque ulla intermis-
sione, fixa in eum intentione ferebatur. Et hanc esse causam indicat S. Ultanus loco
proxime citato, dicens, Christi matrem se sponddū, dictis atque factis fecit." So that,
according to this explanation, she who by continual elevation of mind, and fixed in-
tention, keeps her thoughts ever upon Christ, may be said to travail with Christ,
and figuratively to be the Mother of Christ, and so to be, as it were, another Mary.

This latter prerogative of St. Brigid, to be the Mary of the Irish, Colgan interprets
thus: "*Quod majori fuerit in honore et veneratione apud Hibernos, quam ulla alia*
sancta post beatissimam Virginem Matrem: seu quasi suppari veneratione cum ipsa
Dei Genitrice." This is certainly softening the matter as much as possible, seeing
that the ancient authorities place her on an equality with the Blessed Virgin,
giving to her also the seemingly incommunicable title of Dei Genetrix, and the
still more unusual one of "Queen of the true God." And, moreover, they state ex-
pressly that she was called the Mary of the Irish, and recognised as such by an assem-
bled Synod, in consequence of her personal resemblance to the B. Virgin Mary, whilst
still a child, and therefore before she was known to the Irish people, or could have
received any honour or veneration from them¹.

It is curious that the story of the Synod, in a somewhat modified form, is retained
in an Office² of St. Brigid, printed at Paris so late as 1622. In this Office, as reprinted
by Colgan (App. i. p. 600), the following is part of *Lectio* v.:

"Religiosa quædam fœmina postulavit a Patre sua, ut S. Brigida secum exiret ad Synodum quæ col-
lecta erat in Campo Liffiei, et a patre permittitur. Tunc vir quidam sanctus in Synodo dormiens vidit
visionem et surgens ait, Hæc altera Maria³ quæ habitat inter nos."

¹ *From them.*—See some learned and curious re-
marks on this subject in Mr. Herbert's *Cyclops*
Christianus, p. 113 sq., p. 137, p. 141-2.

² *An office.*—This Office, with some minor va-
riations, occurs, with full musical notation, in the

Antiphonary of Clondalkin, a MS. of the fourteenth
century, preserved in the Library of Trinity College,
Dublin, B. 1. 3.

³ *Hæc altera Maria.*—In the third Life the lan-
guage is: "*Hæc est Maria* (without the explanatory

"*Respon.* Virgo deportatur, honor ei amplius cumulat: Synodus instabat, nova Brigida stella micabat. Sacra cohors plaudit, quia signum cœlitus audit.

"*Vers.* Præbyter hanc aliam denuntiat esse Mariam. Sacra cohors plaudit."

In the same Office there is a hymn, of which the first two stanzas are manifestly a paraphrase of the verses *Christus in nostra insula*. They are as follows:

Christo canamus gloriam,
Qui per beatam Brigidam
Decoravit Hiberniam,
Vitam dans ejus lucidam.

Hæc speculum munditiæ,
Quæ mundo late claruit,
Hæc rosa temperantiæ
Cujus virtus non languit.

The following Table may throw some light on this subject. It is prefixed to the MS. Martyrology of Tamhlacht, preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels.

Hi sunt sancti qui erant unius moris et vitæ, ut dicunt:—

Johannes Baptista,	Episcopus Ibaire.
Petrus Apostolus,	Patricius.
Paulus Apostolus,	Finnan Cluana-híraid.
Andreas A.,	Colum-cille.
Jacobus A.,	Finnian Mhnighe-bile.
Johannes A.,	Ciaran Cluana.
Pilipus A.,	Cainneac.
Bartolomeus A.,	Brendinus senior.
Tomas A.,	Brenainn Cluana ferta.
Matheus A.,	Colum Tire da glas.
Jacobus A.,	Comgall Bennchair.

altera) quæ habitat inter vos:" and these are there given as the words, not of the saint who saw the vision, but of the angel seen in the vision, who stood with the Virgin Mary, and said, not of St. Brigid, but of the B. V. Mary herself, "*Hæc est Maria quæ habitat inter vos:*" thus strangely confounding the

persons of Mary and Brigid. It will be observed, however, that this extravagance is avoided in the Office printed in 1622.

° *Patricius*.—St. Patrick is compared to St. Peter in the Hymn of St. Sechnall, line 10, p. 12 *supr.*, but elsewhere to Moses; see *Vit. Trip.* lib. i. c. 37.

Simon A.,	Molaisi Daimh-insi.
Tatheus A.,	Sinchellus junior.
Mathias A.,	Ruadhan Lothra.
Maria,	Brigita.
Martinus,	Caemhgin Glinni da lacha.
Antonius monachus,	Feichin Fobhair.
Augustinus sapiens,	Lonngaradh.
Ambrocus Imnodicus ^p ,	Mac indecis.
Job patiens,	Munna mac Tulcain.
Jeronimus sapiens,	Manchan Leith.
Clemens Papa,	Ciaran Saighre.
Grigorius Moraliu ^q ,	Cummini Fota.
Laurtius [<i>sic</i>] diaconus,	Decoin Nesan.
Beda sapiens,	Buite mac Bronaigh.
Ilarius episcopus et sapiens,	Sechnall episcopus.
Cornelius Papa,	Maedog Ferna.
Silvester Papa,	Adamnan episcopus.
Bonifacius P.,	Molaisi Lethglinne.
Paucomius monachus,	Caimin Innsi-cealtra.
Benedictus caput monachorum Europæ,	Fintan Cluana eidnech, caput monachorum totius Hiberniæ.
Augustinus episcopus Angalorum [<i>sic</i>],	Bairre episcopus Mumhain agus Conacht.

It will be seen that in this parallelism Mary and Brigid go together, as being “unius moris et vitæ;” but this is a very different idea from that which made Brigid the Mary of the Irish, and in some mystical sense a *Θεοτόκος*.

The Editor forbears to make any remarks on the foregoing list, as it would carry him too far from the present subject, but opportunities may occur of referring to it hereafter; and (as it has never before been published) he thinks it desirable to preserve it here.

^p *Imnodicus*.—i. e. Hymnodicus, so called from his having composed several Hymns. of the *Libri Moraliu*, or Exposition of the Book of Job.

^q *Moralium*.—i. e. Pope Gregory the Great, author

III. THE HYMN OF ST. CUMMAIN FOTA.

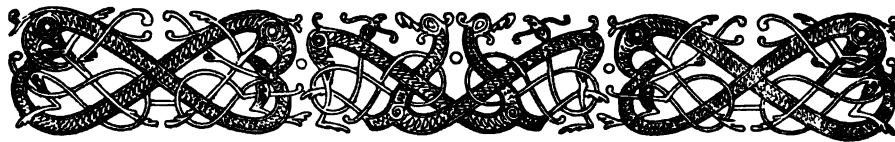
THIS Hymn in praise of the Apostles and Evangelists has never before been printed. The historical Preface of the scholiast contains full information respecting its author, St. Cummain Fota, or The Tall, who died A. D. 661, and it is therefore unnecessary to say more of him here, except that he appears to have had a high reputation for learning. The Four Masters (at A. D. 661) quote a Rann, or short poem, composed on the death of St. Cummain, in which he is said to have been the only Irishman qualified to sit in the chair of St. Gregory; and in the parallel between the European and Irish saints (see last page), he is also compared to St. Gregory the Great.

The Hymn bears evident marks of the high antiquity claimed for it; and there seem no reasonable grounds for doubting its authenticity. It is accompanied by a gloss and scholia, which are given under the text, or in the notes.

The Twelve Apostles are enumerated in the same order in which they occur in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, except that St. Paul is inserted immediately after St. Peter, and Madius, or Matthias, substituted for Judas Iscariot. The two Evangelists, SS. Mark and Luke, who were not Apostles, are then introduced; after whom come St. Patrick, and the Protomartyr St. Stephen.

The Hymn consists of stanzas of two lines which have rhymes or assonances in the last syllable. Each line consists of twelve syllables, and *Alleluia* is repeated after each stanza or distich. Some few exceptions to these rules which occur are mentioned in the notes.

A translation of the scholiast's Preface, with some remarks and illustrations, will be found in the Additional Notes.



celebra iuda. Cummaini pota mac Fiachna nō iarmuman ille fecit hunc cmmum, 7 in Cummain rīn nē ingein do nōnai Fiachna he, tpe mērcāi, 7 intepriogauit Flann, cuich pīl ocute, 7 dīxite tui, 7 dīxite pater, oporiet mori, ita fiat, ap ind ingen. Sed quando natus ēre, do chill lēe ductur ēre, 7 ibi pellectur ēre pōr benn chpōirpē hi cummain bīo, inde dīctur ēre Commāin, 7 ibidem nucturur ac doctur ēre, 7 nō pērr oān do cāndiu, donec uenit mater eiur ad uirgandū eum ad domum abbatiū lēae, articebrom commēio do rīde. Co cāno lā and don tīg, 7 nō pabai comarba lēe ipur, 7 potum potulauit, 7 mater sua debuit ei rīum abbatiū do ol dīgī arī, co nērrīb dīg arī, co nō chairīg oomarba lēe fūirīpē cabairē in ballān do, comīb and pēin acrubairē pē,

Na pachaig [na pachaig],
ce do bep dīg dom bñachair,

īr mac fiachna, īr hua fiachna,
īr ingēn fiachna a machair.

Ro lēg iarpēin ī Corcaig cor do rui. Uenit autem porcea ad patriem 7 ad patriam .i. co heuganacht lacha lēin. Ac bepīb tēa cach ba cōrmail Cummain do Fiachna, inde dīxite

Nī gō dam ei arbiur,
īr focur ap pīal ap tēiur,
īr mo fēnachair m'achair,
mo m'achair īrī mo rīur.

īr focur in carlonnub,
am oara do m'achairpō
lēchīr cīd mo m'achairpē
pōr bñachair do bñachairpē.
pōrēpō pēin a iachna,
ap curu pēin bñachair do bñachair.

Ma nō gēnair marē bē ulc,
īr mērrē ad nēmēthairb,
mo pīar īrī mo m'achair,
m'achair īpē mo fēnachair.

Dom apail capber pō dī,
do pīl Fiachpach Ġairrīnnī,
pēch īr oā, īr mac do,
in tī Cummaine d'iachno.

Tunc Fiachna pīlium Commāine ērre, 7 īpē pēin do nōnai in immunpā, 7 īpē pāth a benma Cummain do chuairt immunīgīn apōrtolōr co coemrāb Domnall mac Aēda mīc Ammēpēch cōi do chunīgīb dīlgūba dīa chīncāib, ap nō coemnacair cēna pēmī, ap buirp a chpīde, 7 īpē Cummain nō pō amōhara do. Ar do chuair o Domnall co Collumcille do iarpāīgīb do cīa nō gēbat do amchāpāit, nō in pēgāb cūcīrōm pēin pāp, unde dīxite Collumcille,

In rui do nōiga andēp,
īr oāi nō gēba a lēp,

do bēpā cummain cō a tēch,
do hu alāmb Ammēpēch.

7 īpē Cummain nō chēpcand ann pēin.

IN ean moſſpo do chuaid Commam do ƿiſ ƿcel Domnaill iap ſdenam mb immuin,
iſ ann po boi Domnaill ocoi a chinab iſin eiz. Tunc diſiſ Commam, In noſa, ƿiſ. ƿ iſ
ann ƿein po la de in iſbſat coſeſa po boi eapair .i. bſat do ponai a machair do
.i. lann. Tunc diſiſ Commam,

Arſen, [arſen]	emib Domnaill e na gab
na cham ƿeilceſa, ƿem ehal,	bſactan lanne ƿinne ƿair.

Iſ aſe do chuaid immuinſin aporcolop, ƿ do ponai Domnaill coo a chinab iapſen
conepbairſ Cummaine,

In noſa, [in noſa]	iſe a po in ƿo eall
po ƿiſiſ Domnaill ƿiſ oſa .i. Dia uapa	ni ƿe a po in ƿo-ſa

In tempore autem Domnaill meic Aeda meic Ainmſech do ponab. Uſe ƿiſhim
umopſo ƿeic, ƿ ba line cech caibſil, ƿ ba ƿillaba deo cech line. ƿop canon ƿaſha
no ƿoſhaigeb, Celebſa luda ƿeſciuitateſ euaſ. I nſaſe Calcaiz do ponab in
cummuſa.



celebſa iuda peſta chriſti gaubia
apostulorum exultans memoria

Clauiculari petri primi pastoris
piscium rete euangelii captoris alleluia

Gloss.—1. *Celebra*.—i. ƿrædica. *Juda*.—i. conſeſio, vel æccleſia, neceſſitas
metri tuc ƿunb luda ƿech lubea [the neceſſity of the metre haſ put *Juda* here
inſtead of *Judea*]. 2. *Apostulorum*.—i. miſorum. *Memoria*.—ab.

3. *Clauiculari*.—Over this word, run-
ning down the margin of the MS., is
the following note:—“.i. Subauditur
hic exultans memoria. Unde diriuatur hoc
nomen on bi ap clauir, clauicula uab-
riſe, ƿiſ ƿapriſe conbenanb clauicu-
larir, up ƿapriſe ƿ ƿ. de, conbenanb
clauiculariur de, ƿ iſ cubaib a ƿail
hic, quia dixit Chriſtus Tu es Petrus, et
super hanc petram edificabo æclesiam
meam et tibi dabo claues regni celo-
rum. Petrus agnoscens [dicitur], eo quod

Christum agnovit, quando interrogauit
Christus de Petro, Quem vos me dicitis
esse, et dixit ei, Tu es Christus filius Dei
uiui. Simon aliud nomen est Petro, quod
interpretatur oboediens, [eo quod] oboe-
diuit Christo usque ad mortem, mortem
autem crucis; vel desoluens interpreta-
tur, eo quod desolvebat reos a penis. Pe-
trus et Andreas et Pilippus ex una ciui-
tate que uocatur Bezaida fuerunt, et hi
primi ex omnibus apostolis Deo credide-
runt.” It is unnecessary to give any

pauli gentium egregi preceptoris
 uasis electi israhelis seminis 5 *alleluia*
andreae atque precamur egregia
 pasi pro christi fide aduocamina 10 *alleluia*
lacobique consobrini domini
 preces adiuvant in scammate seculi 10 *alleluia*

Gloss.—8. *Aduocamina*.—1. na coḡarmanna no na poṛtachta [the invocations, or the assistances]. 10. *Scammate*.—1. ip mb noi, no ip mb epḡail [i. e. in the field, or in the battle].

translation of this note, except to say that the passage which is in Irish tells us that clavicularius is derived “from the word *clavis*; from which comes *clavicula*; from which, by the addition of *ris*, is made *clavicularis*; from which, by adding *us*, and taking away *s*, is formed *Clavicularius*; and that this is the word here used.” *Claviculari*, therefore, in the text, is for *clavicularii*, the bearer of the keys. St. Clement is called “cœlestis clavicularii primus successor,” by St. Aldhelm, *De laude Virginit.* n. 25 (ed. Giles, p. 27). The significations given to the name *Petrus* will be found in the tract attributed to St. Jerome, *De nominibus Hebraicis* (in Act.), where Petrus is explained “cognoscens sive dissolvens.” The same work is also the source of the gloss over the words *Juda* and *apostulorum* in the text, and of the similar explanations of proper names which the author of these scholia has given.

4. *Evangelii*.—This word must be read *Evangel-ji*, as four syllables.

5. *Pauli*.—We have here the note, “Paulus, humilis, vel mitis: ex tribu Benjamin ortus est, nutritus uero in Tarso Ciliciæ.”

6. *Vasis electi*.—Alluding to Act. ix. 15, and Phil. iii. 5.

7. *Andreae*.—On this word there is this note, “.i. virilis interpretatur: Cruce item pasus est.” *Pasus* for *passus*.

8. *Alleluia*.—On the upper margin of the page (p. 6 of the MS.), there is a note on *alleluia*, the beginning and end of which have been cut off by the binder. All that now remains legible is as follows: “. . . ebraice interpretatur Laudate Dominum, vel Laus tibi Domine, vel, Saluum me fac Domine. Moises primus usus est alleluia, decantans contra Amalech in deserto, extensis manibus ad celum a mane usque ad uesperam, et sic deletus est Amalech a filiis Israel; et postea [David] decantauit apud ebreos alleluia, causa timoris uidens bestiam in Tabor et Hermon, et iterum propter timorem Abisolon filii sui cantauit . . .”

9. *Jacobi*.—We find here the following note: “.i. Zebedei filius, qui subplantator vitiorum. Gladio occisus est sub Herode tetrarcha, qui primus apostolorum pasus est.” In the Interpr. nominum Hebraicorum, *Jacobus* is interpreted “supplantator” only. In this line *Jacobi* must be

IOhannis sacri electi ab infantia
qui accumbebat sponsi inter ubera alleluia

Oris lampadis eloquentis philippi
opem oremus prole cum peruisiui alleluia

Bartholomei impendamus nutibus 15
nati pendentis aequora in nubibus alleluia

Gloss.—12. *Accumbebat*.—i. in Channan Galileæ. *Sponsi*.—i. Christi. 13. *Oris lampadis*.—i. os lampadis interpretatur .i. ap a heolcha ⁊ ap eba ræpplabna [because of his skill, and because he was of noble speech]. 14. *Oremus*.—i. in prece. *Prole*.—i. tres filias habuit profetantes in novo testamento. 15. *Bartholomei*.—i. filius suspendentis aquas interpretatur. *Impendamus*.—i. epnem pncep [make prayers]. *Nutibus*.—i. potestatibus.

read as of four syllables.

10. *Scammate*.—The arena in which gladiators fought, so called from the Greek *δκάπτω*, because it was surrounded by a fosse. So Isidore, in *Glossar*. "*Scammata*, arenæ ubi athletæ luctantur." Tertullian says, *Ad Mart.* c. iii.: "Itaque epistates vester Christus Jesus, qui vos spiritu unxit et ad hoc scamma produxit;" and the word is frequently applied to the Christian's conflict with the world, as by St. Aldhelm, "Sed liciorum filis flamma combustis, athletas Dei, in scammate mundi ritu palearico agonizantes, a fumigabundis flammarum globis immunes divina tutela protexit."—*De laud Virginit.* n. 36 (ed. Giles, p. 48). See also Du Cange, in voc.

11. *Johannis*.—Over this word is the following note: ".i. gratia Dei, vel in quo gratia interpretatur. Sub[intellige] adiuvent preces. Hic solus ex omnibus discipulis evasit sine martirio e seculo, et dormivit in pace." *Infantia*.—This word is to be read *infant-ja*, as a trisyllable.

12. *Accumbebat*.—The gloss over this

word says, "i. in Channan Galileæ," alluding to the tradition that St. John was the bridegroom at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. See Baronius, *Annal.* A. D. 31, n. 30. But the allusion of the text seems rather to be to St. John, xiii. 23. In the left-hand margin is this note—"Matres Jacobi et Johannis apostoli Ihū sorores fuerunt, unde consubrini Domini dicti sunt."

13. *Pilippi*.—Here we have the note—"i. pilippi, becom rein, ⁊ ire rein apmer Cummain inter apostolos [i. e. this was Philip the deacon, and it is he that Cummain numbers among the Apostles] qui [in Hiera] polis civitate sepultus est, incertum est autem utrum gladio an cruce occisus est."

14. *Prole*.—The gloss says that he had three daughters, but in *Act.* xxi. 9, we read that he had four. This is the old confusion between Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, the latter of whom is said to have had three daughters, and to have been buried with two of them at Hierapolis. See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 31,

Tomae tendentis partes inter parthiae
 NOS ILLUMINET ABYSSUS SCIENTIE alleluia

Mathei quoque piscali a munere
 DONATI XPM SEQUENTIS PREPROPERE alleluia 20

Atque idem iacobi cominus
 precem petamus subnixi alterius alleluia

Gloss.—17. *Parthiae*.—Parthia nomen [regionis] in oriente. 19. *Mathei*.—i. donatus gratia interpretatur. *Quoque*.—Subintellige petamus precem. 21. *Jacobi*.—i. Alphei. *Cominus*.—i. circumdatus. פאר פארן יאקוב צורעך [i. e. he is to be distinguished from the former James].

and v. c. 24, cum Valesii annott. Baron. in *Martyrol. Rom. ad 1 Maii*. The scholiast was clearly mistaken when he interprets this verse of Philip the deacon; for it is evident that the author of the Hymn intended Philip the Apostle, inasmuch as the order of the names (if we allow for the insertion of St. Paul next after St. Peter) is identical with that in which the Apostles are enumerated, St. Matt. x., Madius (i. e. Matthias) being substituted for Judas Iscariot. Nevertheless, the description, “Os lampadis eloquens Philippus,” seems to designate the deacon, of whom St. Augustine says, “Propter promptum prædicationis eloquium, evangelista proprie meruit appellari.”—*Serm.* 266, n. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*). The absurd interpretation of the name Philip as signifying פֶּלֶפֶד, os lampadis, is found in the *Interpr. nomen Hebr. (in S. Marc)*.

15. *Bartholomei*.—The interpretation of this name in the gloss occurs also in the tract *De nomin. Hebr. (in Act.)*. The roots intended are בר filius, תלך suspendit, and מי aqua.

16. *Nati pendens*.—The foregoing interpretation of the name is here evidently alluded to. Over this line is the note—“ו. mac De יאן פון ארטאן נא ורעכט ון נא נעלויב. לט נא ורעכט יאן פראן, נא פופערלא. לט ון מו נול מן פופערלאכע [i. e. the Son of God of a truth is He that retains the waters in the clouds. The waters, according to the mystical meaning, are the instruction. The clouds are the teachers]. Hic gladio occisus est.”

17. *Tomae*.—Here we have the following note:—“i. qui dicitur Didimus; abissus scientiæ interpretatur. Gladio occisus est, et corpus eius in Edisa ciuitate est.” The *De nomin. Hebr. (S. Matt.)* has “Thomas, abyssus, vel geminus, unde et Græce Didymus appellatur.” רתום is evidently the Hebrew origin here assumed; but where did our Irish scholiast get abyssus scientiæ? Did he intend to make the termination as identical with the Celtic פיוק, knowledge, science? The true root is רתום, geminus, gemellus, and Διδυμος is no more than a Greek translation of the name. *Parthiae*.—See Euseb. iii. c. 1. Clement.

Tatheï tota pamosi per tellura
abgoro misi ihu cum epistola. *alleluia*

Simonis dicti suapte cannanei 25
stolam qui tinxit agni dei sanguine *alleluia*

Sorte preelecti madiani meritis
siti locemur celorum in edictis *alleluia*

Gloss.—23. *Tatheï*.—i. cultor cordis interpretatur: idem et Judas frater Jacobi Alphaei. 24. *Abgoro*.—i. dan. 25. *Simonis*.—i. obediens interpretatur. *Suapte*.—i. in sua regione vel sua civitate ꝛ syllaba πορτονομαγ hi conp [and it adds a syllable in the text]. *Cannanei*.—i. stelus interpretatur, et a Channa vico dictus est, [ubi] Christus aquam in vinum convertit. 26. *Tinxit*.—i. carnem suam in passionem Christi tinxit. 27. *Sorte*.—i. in locum Jude. *Madiani*.—i. donum Dei, vel judicium Dei interpretatur. 28. *Siti*.—i. positi. *Locemur*.—i. conoportιμοιταρ [so that we may be congregated]. *Editis*.—i. in templis, i. in secretis, i. in excelsis, vel in calis.

Recogn. ix. c. 29, and the notes of Cotele-
rius.

19. *Fiscali*.—Here we have the follow-
ing note:—"i. in mainchipta [the trea-
sure chest] quia fiscus inuenitur i. cip
[rent or tribute] fiscalis, vel fiscalis cista,
no ꝑeba cipca i. iccobuc cipca do ꝑig
in domuin no biv [or a wooden chest,
i. e. he used to be collecting tribute for the
king of the world]." The Roman Emperor
was called "King of the World" by the
Irish.

21. *Cominus*.—This line is a syllable
short, unless we make *I-a-co-bi* four syl-
lables, as it is in v. 9. The meaning seems
to be, "Let us ask for the prayer of James,
to be near at hand to us, aided by the
prayer of the other James." After the
word *cominus*, on the same line is the gloss
i. xꝑo. which would seem to intend,
"James who is near to Christ."

22. *Subnixi*.—The scholiast here says:
"i. bebenchu tancic co Cipꝛt quam pre-
dictus, ꝛ punb po ꝑabcha in hierupalem

[i. e. he came later to Christ than the
aforesaid, and it was then he was elevated
in Jerusalem]:" that is, James the Less
was called to the apostleship later than
James son of Zebedee, and afterwards
became Bishop of Jerusalem.

23. *Tellura*.—The note over this word
is obscure. "i. capp na huillib calman-
naib, ap pen cꝑa ꝑeb no ꝑcipbenn ꝛ ꝑic
. . . . ecte ꝑep tellura i. pupa [i. e.
through all lands, for this is the manner
in which it is written, et sic . . . ecte
per tellura, i. e. rura]." The first few
letters of the word ending . . . *ecte* are
illegible.

24. *Abgoro*.—Over this word is the
gloss i. dan [i. e. bold, valiant]. It is well
known that Agbarus, or Abgarus, was not
a proper name, but the common title of
all the Kings of Edessa, from the Arabic
akbar, great. *Epistola*.—Over this word is
the note "i. beatus es [the two first words
of the Epistle to Abgarus]. Nescimus qua
morte mortuus est." In the margin is the

marci excelsi mandata iustitiae
 ANNUNCIANTIS \overline{xpm} alexandriae alleluia 30

medici ueri lucæ euangelizae
 agnum sequentis uirginali honore alleluia

patrici patris obsecremus merita
 ut deo digna perpetremus opera alleluia

Gloss.—29. *Marci*.—Marcus excelsus interpretatur: subintellige petamus opem. 30. *Annuntiantis*.—i. predicantis. *Alexandriae*.—i. adverbium. 31. *Lucæ*.—i. ipse consurgens interpretatur. 32. *Virginali*.—i. quia virgo fuit. Hic Sirius natione. 33. *Patris*.—i. nostri.

following note:—"Errat hic Cummain quia Tatheus portavit epistolam ad Abgarum. Sed Annanias cursor ac servus Abgari portavit et reportavit. Et ipse Tatheus postea predicavit ei fidem .i. Abgaro, ut historia ecclesiastica narrat." This is no doubt a reference to Eusebius, where in Ruffinus's version, the letter of Abgarus is said to have been sent to Jerusalem, "per Ananiam cursorem"— $\delta\iota'$ 'Ανανία ταχυδρόμου.—*Hist. Eccl.* i. 13.

25. *Suapte*.—The gloss on this word explains it to mean, "in sua regione, vel sua civitate," and adds, "that there is a syllable too much in the verse;" for that seems to be the meaning. From this I conclude that the scholiast must have read *sua parte*, which would give a syllable too much, unless we pronounced *sua* as a monosyllable; *suapte* does not seem very intelligible. *Cannanei*.—The gloss on this word gives *stelus* (i. e. *zelus*), as the interpretation of this name, and states also that Simon was so called from Cana of Galilee. In this the scholiast follows St. Jerome, who, in his Commentary on St. Matt. x. 3,

says: "Primus scribitur Simon, cognomento Petrus, ad distinctionem alterius Simonis, qui appellatur Chananeus, de vico Chana Galilææ, ubi aquam Dominus in vinum vertit;" and on ver. 4, he says, "Chana quippe zelus interpretatur." See also Theodoret. in Psal. lxxvii. 28.

27. *Madiani*.—In the gloss on this word Mathias is interpreted *donum Dei*, quasi מַתְתִּיָּהוּ, and so *Mattheus* is interpreted *Donatus* above, v. 20, and Gloss v. 19. Hesychius explains it *δεδωρημένος*. The other interpretation, "vel iudicium," appears to be founded upon the spelling *Madianus*, as if from the Hebrew מַדְיָן. In St. Jerome's *Interpr. nomin. Hebr.* (in Act.), we have, "Madian, in iudicio, vel ex iudicio," which must be intended for Mathias the Apostle. In this line we must read *Madiani* as three syllables—*Mad-ja-ni*.

30. *Alexandriæ*.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16.

31. *Evangelizæ*.—i. e. evangelistæ; *z* for *st*. So *Zefani*, ver. 35, for *Stephani*; and in the Gloss. v. 25, *stelus*, for *zelus*.

34. *Ut Deo digna*.—In the upper mar-

SANCTI SEPANI PRIMI ATQUE MARTIRIS
 PRO INIMICIS ROGANTIS CUM SUSPIS 35 *alleluia*

HORUM SANCTORUM BINA SEPTIM VALIDA
 PIANE PRO NOBIS SCUTATA SUPPRAEIA *alleluia*

QUIBUS IGNITA DEMONUM IACULA
 POSUNT EXTINGI UT PER PROPUGNACULA *alleluia* 40

Gloss.—35. *Zefani*.—i. norma, ebraice; coronatus, grece, qui fuit primus martir novi testamenti post Christum. 36. *Rogantis*.—i. dicentis, Domine Jesu ne statuas illis hoc in peccatum [cf. Act. vii. 60]. 40. *Per propugnacula*.—i. amal bîd tpe enmuru, no tpe cach chacha [i. e. as it were by fortifications, or by battlements].

gin of p. 7, in the MS., is a note, the beginning and end of which have been cut off by the binder. It does not appear to have any special reference to the Hymn, except as giving a reason for the primacy of St. Peter. All that now remains of it is as follows: “. . . magna . . . et spatiosa domus est atrium quia addantur ei .iii. porticus extrinsecus, in hoc diversitas .x. apost. et Petrus est, illi fugiunt, quanquam procul tamen [ille] sequitur saluatorem, et ideo solus principatui eligitur. Amen dico vobis quecumque alligaueritis super terram erunt ligata et in celo etrl. ag. Hic ostenditur quod non potestas alligandi et soluendi datur Petro, sed peritia usquequo sciat quis alligandus et solvendus . . .” This is probably an extract from some ancient author. It would be interesting to discover from what author it is taken.

36. *Suspis*, for *suspisiis*.

37. *Bina septim*.—Seventeen saints have been named, viz. thirteen Apostles (including St. Paul), with two evangelists, St. Patrick, and St. Stephen. But the following gloss, which occurs over the word *sep-*

tim, explains that the fourteen saints here intended are the twelve Apostles, with St. Paul and St. Stephen, “.i. xiiii. in da apptal dec .i. Paulur 7 Stepanur quamvis non sit apostolus, 7 conabab he Commaine do bepad Marcum 7 Lucam hic, no mapu he do pat ip .iiii. valida ap maich and [i. xiv., viz. the twelve Apostles, with Paul, and Stephen, although he is not an Apostle. And it may have been Commain himself that inserted Mark and Luke here; and if it was he that inserted them, then octo valida would be the right reading in the text].” Here the scholiast intimates that the notices of Mark and Luke may have been interpolations since Cummain’s time. But the mention of St. Patrick, v. 33, makes the number 17, not 16, and therefore the proposed reading of *bina octo*, for *bina septem*, does not remove the difficulty. May it not be that the twice seven are the fourteen *Apostles*, viz. the Twelve, St. Paul, and St. Patrick? In the versicle at the end, SS. Peter, Paul, and Patrick, are mentioned as the chief *Apostles*.

INUITIATA quo PERAMUS pectora
REGI REGNANTI ab æVO IN secula *alleluia*

GLORIA patri atque UNIGENITO
SIMUL REGNANTI spiritu cum agio *alleluia*

NIMIS HONORATI SUNT amici tui deus 45
NIMIS CONFORTATUS EST principatus eorum *alleluia*
celebra iuda festa christi gaudia apostolorum

EXAUDI nos DEUS PER merita apostolorum optima
ut deleantur peccata nostra peccata plurima
PER merita et orationes interceptionesque
sancti petri ꝛ pauli ꝛ patricii ꝛ ceterorum
apostolorum ac martirum omnium
sanctorum PROPICIETUR nobis dominus.

Gloss.—41. Quo.—Co. 42. Ab ævo.—i. a principio. 44. Cum agio.—i. cum sancto, qui agius grece sanctus latine dicitur, ut agiographa, i. sancta scriptura. 45. Honorati.—i. ab omnibus. Amici.—amicus dictus est quasi animi æquus, qui æqualis nobis voluntate coniungitur. 46. Confortatus.—i. bonis operibus. Eorum.—i. apostolorum.

39. *Iacula*.—This word is here of four syllables—*i-a-cu-la*.

41. *Quo*.—Over this word is the gloss co, “in order that.”

45. *Nimis honorati*.—This verse seems to have been regarded as a part of the Hymn by the transcriber of the MS., as appears by his having repeated the first line of the Hymn immediately after it, according to a custom already noticed. See note, p. 23 *supra*. It is, however, Ps. cxxxviii. 17, with the reading *honorati* for *honorificati*. The absence of the

metre proves that it was not intended by the author as a part of the Hymn.

Exaudi nos.—This is an *Antiphona* to be recited after the Hymn; it is evidently in a rude rhyme. Then follows another Antiphon, Prayer, or Collect, in which, as already observed, “SS. Peter, Paul, and Patrick, and the other Apostles,” are mentioned together. It is probable that we ought to read “et omnium sanctorum,” or “omniumque sanctorum.” Both these versicles are in a different character, although from the pen of the original scribe.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface. The scraps of Latin which the writer, according to the general practice of Irish ecclesiastics, mixes up with his vernacular Gaelic, are also translated, in order that the whole may read more smoothly:—

CELEBRA JUDA. Cummain Fota [the Tall], son of Fiachna, King of West Munster, he it was that composed this Hymn. And this Cummain, it was by his own daughter that Fiachna had him, through a fit of drunkenness*. And he questioned [his daughter] Flann, [saying] By whom have you him? and she said, He is thine. And the father said, He ought to die. Be it so, said the daughter. But when he was born, he was brought to Cill Ita [now Killeedy], and was left there upon the head of a cross, in a little *cummain* [box or basket], from which he was named Cummain, and was there nursed and taught, and it was not known from whence he came, until his mother came to visit him at the house of the Abbess Ita^b, for she used to come often to him. And she came one day to the house, and the comharb of Ita was not within ;

* *Drunkenness.*—A more modern account states that Fiachna intended to lie with Cacht, daughter of Maolochtair, son of Aedh Bolg, King of the Decies, who was then at his house, on her way to St. Brennan's Hill, where she was going on a pilgrimage. She slept in the same room, and in the same bed, with Fiachna's daughter, and it was by mistake, not from drunkenness, that Fiachna committed the incest of which St. Cummain Fota was the offspring. This version of the story goes on to say that the infant, when born, was exposed in a *cummain*, or box, of wicker-work, and sent off afloat upon the Abhan Mor, or Great River; that the box, carried down by the stream, was found by Bishop Declan's fishermen, who carried it to the Bishop; that the Bishop [who, it should be remembered, such are the anachronisms of this version of the story, was a contemporary of

St. Patrick], finding the child alive, baptized him, and committed him again to the river, predicting that it was reserved for St. Mida (or Ita) to educate the boy: that St. Ita, whilst washing her hands at the river, observed the floating box, opened it, and, carrying the child to the altar, there dedicated him to God, naming him *Cummain*, from his having been found in the box or basket. This story occurs in a MS. of the eighteenth century, very badly written, and in very bad modern Irish, which is preserved among the Betham MSS. (26 a) in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

^b *The Abbess Ita.*—This has been understood (see note *) as if St. Ita herself had been alive when the infant St. Cummain was left at her church. Dr. Lanigan very fairly objects that St. Ita died in 569, exactly twenty-three years before

and he asked for a drink, and his mother gave him the churn^c of the abbes to drink from; and he drank from it. And the comharb of Ita rebuked her^d for having given him the churn, whereupon she then said—

Notice not^e, notice not,
If I give my brother to drink,
He is the son of Fiachna; he is the grandson of Fiachna,
Fiachna's daughter is his mother.

He afterwards studied in Cork, until he became a Doctor^f. And then he returned to his father and to his country; i. e. to the Eoghanacht of Loch Leins^g. And every one then said that Cummain resembled Fiachna: wherefore he said:—

It is no falsehood for me, if that be
said;
For near is the relationship of us
three,
My grandfather is my father,
My mother is my sister.

If good be born of evil,
It is I that should excel.
My sister is my mother,
My father is my grandfather.

Short is the summing up,
I am the grandson of thy mother,
My mother also is accused of guilt
With the brother of thy brother,
With thyself, O Fiachna^h,
For thou art the brother of thy brother.

To me there is a double relationship
To the race of Fiachra-Gairrinni,
For a grandson and a son to him
Is the said Cummain to Fiachna.

St. Cummain was born. But there is nothing in the Scholiast's narrative which implies that St. Ita herself was alive, although more modern authors have represented it so. On the contrary, it is expressly said that when St. Cummain's mother came to the house of Ita, "St. Ita's comharb," that is, St. Ita's successor, or representative, "was not within;" which proves that St. Ita herself was not then alive, otherwise she could have had no successor as abbes in her monastery. See Lanigan's *Ecl. Hist.* ii. p. 399, note 51.

^c *The churn*.—The Latin has *sinus*, the Irish *bal-lan*, a word which signifies a churn, or vessel for holding milk, a wooden drinking-cup, or bowl: and Isidore in his Glossary interprets *sinus*—"Vas in quo butyrum conficitur." See Du Cange *in voce*.

^d *Rebuked her*.—The version of this story in the Betham MS. (26 a), quoted above, note ^c, represents the fault committed by St. Cummain's mother to have been, not that she gave him to drink out of the vessel of the abbes, but that she gave him milk to drink during a season of fasting.

^e *Notice not*.—This and the following poems are written in the MS. as prose, without division of the

lines. But it has been thought better, in printing them, to restore the metrical arrangement. The repetition of the words *Na nathair*, "Notice not," in the first line, is necessary for the metre. It was a common practice, when a verse was so constructed, to write the word once only.

^f *A Doctor*.—The word is *puí*, or *pgoi*, a learned man of the highest degree.

^g *Eoghanacht of Loch Lein*.—i. e. of the Lake of Killarney. These were descendants of Eoghan Mor, eldest son of Oiliol Olam, King of Munster in the second century. See Irish version of Nennius, p. 258, note.

^h *O Fiachna*.—In the Irish *a iachna*, for a *Phiachna*, the aspirated *p* being omitted, in accordance with the pronunciation. So again, in the last of these verses, in *ci Cummaine biachno*, for *bi' Phiachno*. St. Cummain's mother is called *lann*, for *Plann*, in more than one passage of this Preface. This dropping of the *p* is very common with Irish scribes, and has been the occasion of several mistakes. The Editor is indebted to Mr. Curry for this observation.

ⁱ *Fiachra-Gairrinni*.—Fiachna, father of Cum-

Then Fiachna [acknowledged] Cummain to be his son. And it was he [i. e. this Cummain] that composed this Hymn; and the cause of composing it was this:—Cummain's having recourse to the help of the Apostles, to help Domhnall^k, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, to obtain the power of shedding tears, to seek forgiveness of his sins; for he had not been able to do so before, in consequence of the hardness of his heart. And this Cummain was his spiritual director; for Domhnall had sent to Columcille^l to ask him whom he should take as his spiritual director, or whether he should go to himself to the east [i. e. to Hy, or Iona]. Wherefore Columcille said:—

The Doctor^m who shall come from the south,
It is with him he [Domhnall] shall find what he wants,
He will bring communionⁿ to his house
To the excellent grandson of Ainmire.

And it was Cummain that was prophesied of on that occasion.

Now when Cummain came to learn Domhnall's case, after having composed the Hymn, he found Domhnall bewailing his sins in the house. Then Cummain said:—

Now it is^o, &c.

And it was then that he threw off the crimson cloak which was around him, that is, a cloak which his mother, viz. Flann^p, had made for him. Then said Cummain,

It is therefore, it is therefore,
That I am not allowed to proceed as I wish,
Domhnall refuses, he will not put
The little cloak of Flann, the fair, upon him.

main, was the son of Fiachra-Gairrine. Cummain was grandson to Fiachna (being the son of his daughter), as well as his son. His name, therefore, appeared in two different lines of the family pedigree.

^l *Acknowledged*.—This word is supplied from conjecture, as a word or two are illegible in the MS. All that can be read with certainty is given in the text (p. 72). Mr. Curry thinks that the letters *uioic* are visible before *pitum*; if so, perhaps, *credidit* was the obliterated word.

^k *Domhnall*.—He was King of Ireland from A. D. 628 to 642. See his Pedigree, *Battle of Magh Rath*, ed. by Dr. O'Donovan, p. 326.

^l *To Columcille*.—This saint died no earlier than A. D. 595 [592, *Four Masters*]. Therefore, the meaning, perhaps, may be that Domhnall consulted St. Columcille (which he might have done before that year, for his father died in 599), and that St. Columcille predicted St. Cummain, although this latter saint was then an infant, having been born in 590. It is more probable, however, that when

Columcille is mentioned, his *comharb*, or successor, is meant, according to the usual way of speaking of the Irish, who considered the saint as still presiding over his monastery, however long after his death, and as still speaking by the mouth of his successor.

^m *The Doctor*.—Or learned man. The same word, *ruí*, is here used. See above, note^l.

ⁿ *Communion*.—There seems here to be intended a play upon the word *Cummain*, "communion with the Church," and *Cummain*, the name of the saint who was destined to bring this communion to the house of Domhnall.

^o *Now it is*.—The commencement only of this Rann or Poem is given, because four lines of it are quoted at length further on.

^p *Flann*.—Here again the text has *Lann*, the initial F being omitted. The verses that follow seem to allude to the ancient custom of putting on the raiment of the saint who acted as your penitentiary, in token of submission and humiliation. This, it seems, Domhnall refused to do.

And it was therefore that he appealed to the Apostles; and Domhnall wept for his sins after that, whereupon Cummain said,

Now it is, now it is,
Domhnall knows that there is a king over him, i. e. God above him;
His Lord is the Lord above,
His Lord is not this Lord.

It was in the time of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, it [the Hymn] was composed. And he made it in rhythm; and there are two lines in each capitulum, and twelve syllables in each line. It was founded upon the canon of the Prophets, *Celebra Juda festivitates tuas*. In Daire Calcaigh this Hymn was made.

NOTE B.

The History and Date of St. Cummain Fota.

ST. CUMMAIN FOTA, i. e. the Long, or Tall, is said to have been Bishop of Clonfert, and appears to have enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. His death is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach twice. First at the year 661, with the qualification "secundum aliquos;" and afterwards at the following year, which is probably the true date, in these words:—

A. D. 662, "Cummine Fota .lxxii. anno ætatis suæ mortuus est."

From this it follows that St. Cummain Fota must have been born in the year 590, or if the former date be adopted, 589.

Let us see how this will square with the accounts which remain in ancient Irish authorities of his genealogy and history.

For this purpose it will be necessary, in the first instance, to bring together the authorities, and then to make some remarks upon them.

I. In laying before the reader the authorities, I shall confine myself to those that may be properly called *sources*, or original authorities: citing them as nearly as possible in chronological order.

1. Aengus the Culdee, in his book *On the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland*, pre-

¹ *God above him*.—This explanation is added in the way of gloss; it forms no part of the metre. In the last two lines there is a play on the word *po*, which signifies a *king*, or *lord*, and also *good*, or *honour*. It is not easy to translate allusions of this kind; but the meaning seems to be, "His good, or *summum bonum*, is now the Lord above; his God is not now, as formerly, this (earthly, or sensual) good."

² *The Prophets*.—Alluding to Nahum, i. 15, where the words "*Celebra Juda festivitates tuas*" occur.

³ *Daire Calcaigh*.—This was the ancient Pagan name of Derry, "the oak wood of *Calcach*," a Pagan hero. It is rendered *Roboretum Calgaci* by Adamnan in his Life of St. Columba. See Ordnance Survey Memoir of Londonderry, p. 17.

served in the Book of Lecan (MS. Royal Irish Academy), gives the following genealogy of St. Cummain Fota:—

Rim ingen Fiachna mic Fiachnaó Dairine, mic Duach iarlaithi, maíair Cumaine mic Fiachna, ⁊ Comgáin Mic Dacerda, ⁊ Dúairi mic Colman, ⁊ Crimthannb daeil mic Aeda Cuirr, níg Laigen, ⁊ Cuana mic Cailóme .i. laech Liathmuine, ⁊ bracain Daírimbre.

Rimb, daughter of Fiachna, son of Fiachra Gairine, son of Duach Iarlaithi, was the mother of Cumaine, son of Fiachna; and of Comgan Mac Dacerda; and of Guari, son of Colman; and of Crimthann Cael, son of Aedh Cirr, King of Leinster; and of Cuana, son of Cailchine, Laech Liathmuine [the hero of Liathmuine]; and of Bracan of Dairinis.

2. And in his book on the *Genealogies of the Saints*, the same author gives the pedigree thus:—

“Cummíne Fota, son of Fiachna, son of Fiachra, son of Duach, son of Maine, son of Cairpre, son of Corc, son of Lughaidh, son of Ailill Flann beg.”

3. The Scholiast on the *Felire of Aengus* has preserved the following Rann, or short historical poem:—

Muḡain, ingén Fiachna fínn,
maíair Cummaine ceoilbinn;
rírrí Muḡain a maíair
reírriúim dírrí deirbratair

Mughain, daughter of Fiachna the fair,
Mother of Cummaine of the sweet tones;
This Mughain was his mother,
He to her was brother.

.i. ba mac .x. no gempat uairé, .i. re herpoic, ⁊ re níg, im Cummin, im Comhgall.

Twelve sons were born of her, viz. six bishops and six kings, including Cummin, and Comhgall.

The six bishops and six kings, however, are not enumerated.

4. Again, in the Martyrology of Marianus Gorman, at the 12th of November, we have the following account of St. Cummain Fota:—

Cummin Fota mac Fiachna do Eogha-
nach Loí Léin, Eppreob Cluana fepeta bre-
nainn. Aod a óeb ainm díler, ⁊ Druim da-
liter ainm a baile.

Cummain Fota, son of Fiachna, of the Eogha-
nacht of Loch Lein, Bishop of Clonsfert Brenainn.
Aodh was his proper name first, and Druimda-
liter was the name of his town.

5. The Martyrology of Donegal has the same account of St. Cummain in the same words, but adds the following:—

Do ríocht Cuirc mic Luigbech, mic
Oiliolla Flann bicc, mic Fiataó Muille-
tam, mic Eogain moir, mic Oiliolla Oluim

He was of the race of Corc, son of Lughaidh,
son of Oilioll Flann Beg, son of Fiacha Muillethan,
son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilioll Oluim¹. And

¹ *Oilioll Oluim*.—See the Genealogical Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Mugh Rath*, p. 343, from which, with the genealogy above given, we can

complete the pedigree of St. Cummain from his ancestor Oilioll Oluim, King of Munster, who died A. D. 234:—thus—Oilioll Oluim,—Eoghan mor,—

do, 7 Rímh a beirbhuir fein ba maíar do,
amail ar pollar in a betair. Míde an oí
naoítha do ba buime do. Learcar necna
a amríne an ferra. Píoiceptaib earcna
braithe De.

Geir Chriú an can no fáth a ríorú do
óum míne 661.

Abeir an fein leabhar memraim, ag
ladairc ar bhuíge, 1^o. Feb. 7 ar Pádraico
17^o Marc. go raíde Cummain Fota corpmail a
mbeartaib 7 a mbeartaib ne Shríogoir mora-
lium.

6. The Four Masters, at the year 661, give the following account of St. Cummain, together with a short historical poem on his death:—

S. Cummine Fota mac Fiachna eppcop
Cluana Ferta Brenainn, decc, in dara la
deg do Nouember. Colman ua Cluaraig,
oide Cummine, no raib na panna

Ní beir Luinneach fop a bhuim,
de pil Muirneach il Leth Cumn,
mapban in noi ba fíú do,
do Cummine mac Fiachno.

Ma do teigebh neach car muir,
feiread hí fuide nShríogoir,
maó a hEirí ní buí do
inge Cummine Fodo.

Mó cumhara iar cCumine,
on lo no foilgeó a ápc,
coi mo cuil nír níngeiréó
bopbgaill iar nderach a bapc.

Rímh, his sister, was herself also his mother, as is
manifest in his Life. Míde^a [i. e. St. Ita] the holy
virgin was his nurse. A vessel of learning was
this man in his time, a learned preacher of the
Word of God.

The year of Christ when he resigned his spirit to
heaven was 661.

The old parchment book says, in speaking of
Brigid (1st Febr.), and of Patrick (17th March),
that Cummain Fota in his manners and life resem-
bled Gregory Moralium^r.

St. Cummine Fota, son of Fiachna, Bishop of
Cluain Ferta Brenainn, died the twelfth day of
November. Colman O'Cluasaigh, tutor of Cummine,
composed these verses:—

Never did the Luinneach^w bear on its back,
Of the race of Munster, into Leth Chuinn^r,
A corpse in a boat so precious as he,
As Cummine son of Fiachna.

If any one went across the sea
To sit in the chair of Gregory^r,
If from Ireland, it was not meet for him,
Except he was Cummine Fota.

Ah! woe is me after Cummine!

From the day that his corpse was covered in,
My eyelids drop tears, there has not ceased
Mourning, since the destruction of his boat^r.

Fiacha Múilleathan (King of Munster, A. D. 260),—
Oilioll Flan beg (King of Munster),—Lugdach-Corc
(King of Munster),—Cairpre Luachra,—Maine,—
Duach Iarlaithe,—Fiachra-Gairine,—Fiachna,—
Cummain Fota.

^a *Midhe*.—For *mo Idha*, my Ida, or my Ita.
Colgan has explained this mode of expressing devo-
tion to a saint.—*Acta SS.*, p. 71, n. 2, 3. A cor-
responding phrase,—*Our Lord, Our Lady, My
God*,—is still in use.

^r *Gregory Moralium*.—See above, p. 70.

^w *The Luinneach*.—This was the name of the

Lower Shannon, from Limerick to the sea.

^r *Leth Chuinn*.—Conn's half; the Northern half
of Ireland.

^r *The chair of Gregory*.—i. e. to become Pope.
Gregory the Great was celebrated amongst the Irish.
See O'Donovan's note, Four Masters, A. D. 590,
and O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 80.

^r *Of his boat*.—Or, "of his bier." It was the cus-
tom to destroy the bier after the interment of the
corpse. The death of Colman O'Cluasaigh, the
writer of these verses, is recorded at the same year
by the Four Masters.

7. The following curious story, in which Cummain Fota, Guaire Aidhne, and St. Caimine, of Inis Cealtra, are brought together, is told by the Scholiast on the Felire of Aengus, and has been loosely translated by Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 746. It occurs in a note on the twenty-fifth of March, which was the festival of St. Caimin:—

Feachtar do Guaire Aidhne 7 do Chumain Fota 7 do Caimin in Inis Cealtra in ecclaiar 1 nimir Cealtra for lod nDeirco-heirc, eodon in ecclaiar mór do nonad la Caimine ann. battapronn bin ag cabant anmearbera for Guaire. Maite a Ghuaire, ol Caimine, cib beite maite lat do lionad na heccclaiar 1 ctdm. Freccnair Guaire he, 7 ipeob a dubairt, no ba maite lim a lan bi op 7 dapceate, 7 ni ap paine an doimainn, aoc dia cioelacab for manmain do naemhaibh, 7 do eccalraib, 7 ba gad nech do iarrfaib e apdena. Do pad Dia fupceate duit a Ghuaire, ol Caimine, 7 do bentar duit an epaileotam do nonair dia cabert ap c'anmain, 7 nobbia nerh iapaim. Ap buide linn, ol Guaire. Tura imorro, a Chumain, ap Guaire, cib beite maite lat do beite ann. Ro pad maite lim, ap Cumain, a lan do leabpaib dia coibeot do aer leiginn, 7 do fiolab bpeirpe De 1 ccluarpaib caid dia cabert do lupce diabail do dum an coimbed. Tura imorro, a Caimine, ol piact, cib beite maite latra do beite ann. Freccnair Caimine iab, 7 ipeab a dubairt, no ba maite lim a lan do paet 7 do galap do beite im corp, 7 me fein occ impulanag mo pian.

Ro fpiet imorro a niompaite o Dia .i. an calan do Guaire, 7 ecena do Cumain Fota, 7 do padab paeth, 7 galap do Chamne, conach deachab enain de ppiapole 1 ccalmainn, aoc no legab imorro a feoil 7 a petae ne hanceppaib zach galap dia mboi papi. Co ndeacatar imorro for neamh uile la nimpairib in ecclaiar. FINIS.

Once upon a time that Guaire Aidhne and Cummain Fota, and Caimine of Inis Cealtra, were in the church of Inis Cealtra in Loch Deirgdheirc, namely, the great church that was built by Caimine there; they were then giving spiritual counsel to Guaire. "Well, O Guaire," said Caimine, "what wouldst thou wish to have this church in which we are filled with?" Guaire answered him and said, "I would wish to have it full of gold and silver; and not from covetousness of this world, but that I might give it for [the good of] my soul to saints and churches, and in like manner to every one that would ask for it." "God will give thee help, O Guaire," said Caimine, "and will grant thee the expectation thou hast formed for the good of thy soul; and hereafter thou shalt possess heaven." "We are thankful," said Guaire. "But thou, O Cummain," said Guaire, "what wouldst thou wish to have in it?" "I would wish," said Cummain, "to have it full of books to instruct studious men, and to disseminate the word of God into the ears of all; to bring them from following the devil unto the Lord." "But thou, O Caimine," said they, "what wouldst thou wish to have in it?" Caimine answered them and said, "I would wish to have the full of it of disease and sickness to be on my body, and myself to be suffering my pain."

And so they obtained their wishes from God, viz. the earth to Guaire, wisdom to Cummain Fota, and sickness and disease to Caimine, so that not one bone of him remained united to the other on earth, but his flesh dissolved, and his nerves, with the excess of every disease that fell upon him. So that they all went to heaven according to their wishes [expressed] in the church. Finis.

II.—It remains now to make some remarks on the foregoing authorities, including the Scholiast's Preface in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

1. The history of the unhappy lady who was the mother of St. Cummain is obscure

and unsatisfactory in almost every particular. Her very name is given variously. The Scholiast of the *Liber Hymnorum* calls her *Flann*, or *Lann*. Aengus the Culdee gives her the name of *Rim*, or *Rimh*, and she is also so called in the Martyrology of Donegal. Colgan, quoting the former authority, gives her the same name in the Latinized form *Rima*^a, but adds, “rectius *Mugania*,” which last is her appellation in the ancient Rann preserved by the Scholiast on the Felire of St. Aengus. She is also called *Mughain* in the modern interpolated version of her story, in the Betham MS. quoted above, p. 81, note. The reason of these different appellations does not appear.

2. The account given of her sons is also full of difficulties. In the extract above quoted from Aengus, *De Matribus Sanctorum*, she is said to have been the mother of six sons, viz.:

(1.) *Cummaine*, or Cummain, the son of her father Fiachna.

(2.) *Comgan-Mac Dacerda*, who was so called, not because he was the son of Dacerda, as might at first sight appear to be the meaning of the words, but (as the title is explained) because he was of weak intellect, with occasional fits of prophetic inspiration, so that he was called *Mac da cherda*^b, the boy or youth of two arts, viz. the extreme of folly, and the extreme of knowledge. He is mentioned in the Life of St. Molagga, as printed by Colgan, and in the “*Acts of the idiots Comdhan (or Comghan) and Conall*,” quoted by the same author^c.

A copy of this last work (but unfortunately a very bad one) is preserved in the Betham MS. (22 a), in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; and in it we find the following account of Comgan Mac da Cerda:—

He was the son of Maolochtair, King of the Decies of Munster, and of Mughain, daughter of Fiachna, son of Fiachra Gairine. Some time after his birth, Mughain, stung with remorse for the scandal which had arisen from her early history, consulted her son Cummain, and by his advice resolved upon separating from her husband Maolochtair, and devoting the rest of her days to seclusion and penitence. This resolution being

^a *Rima*.—Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 148, n. 4.

^b *Mac da cherda*.—In the Life of St. Molagga (Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 145), he is called “*Comdhanus cognomento Mac da-chearda*,” and Colgan tells us: “*Lusit in ipso mirabiliter natura, vel verius divina voluntas, cujus mirâ dispositione plerumque hominis rationis usu seu iudicio carentis, aliquando etiam, quando lucida quædam habuit intervalla, sagacissimi et prudentissimi actus exercebat, responsaque dabat sapientissima, quæ veluti oracula accipiebantur: et hinc cognomentum da-*

cheard, i. e. *duarum artium* accepit, quia nempe nunc extreme fatuus, mox summe prudens.”—Colgan, *ib.* p. 149, n. 8. The belief that idiots are under an occasional inspiration from heaven is still common in Ireland.

^c *The same author*.—He says: “*Vide plura de ipso . . . in actis Cumdhani et Conalli idiotarum; in quibus in apographo quod vidi, inter plura vera, quædam apocrypha et fabulosa, maxime de S. Declano et Molagga referuntur.*”—*Acta SS.*, p. 149, n. 7.

accomplished, Maelochtair married another wife, Ailgineach, daughter of Maoldubh, who, after some time, conceived a criminal passion for Comgan, her stepson, who was remarkable for manly beauty, grace, and accomplishments. He was insensible to her blandishments, and her love was converted into the most deadly hatred. On one occasion, a fair and assembly having been held by the men of Munster in South Tipperary, Comgan carried off the victory in all the sports and exercises of the day, and won the applause of all spectators. Maelochtair's Druid was especially charmed with his prowess, and celebrated his praises above all the rest. The malicious stepmother, seeing this, accosted the Druid, and said to him, "You are the last person who ought to praise Comgan, for he is criminally attached to your wife, and has access to her at his pleasure. Observe him when he rides around to receive the congratulations of the ladies, and you will see that your wife regards him with peculiar favour." "If this be so," said the Druid, "his power of acquiring favour with her or any other woman shall cease for ever." Soon after, Comgan arrived at the head of his troop of cavalry, and rode around the assembly, according to custom, to receive the congratulations of the fair ladies who were witnesses of his success, and addressed to each some courteous words; to the Druid's wife amongst the rest. Although the unconscious Comgan in reality paid no more court to her than to others, yet to the Druid's eyes, already filled with jealousy, his passing compliment seemed an undoubted confirmation of all the suspicions with which his mind had been poisoned; and when Comgan retired to wash his horses and himself in a neighbouring river, the Druid followed him, and suddenly struck him with a magical wand, or, according to another account, flung upon him a wisp of straw, over which had been pronounced some fiendish incantation. The result was, that when Comgan arose from bathing, his flesh burst forth in boils and ulcers, and his attendants were forced to carry him to his father's house. At the end of the year he had wasted away, his hair fell off, his intellect decayed, and he became a bald and senseless idiot, keeping company only with the fools and mountebanks of his father's court.

Some time after, his half-brother Cummain was invited to accept the primacy of Armagh, and having prayed to the Lord, with fasting, for direction in the case, an angel appeared to him and repeated two lines of a quatrain, which he was directed to commit to memory, and then go in search of the person who could supply the other two lines, from whom he should receive the advice he sought. Cummain therefore went about repeating the lines to every one, but without finding anybody who could complete the quatrain. At length he went to the palace of Maelochtair, to visit his brother, whom he found asleep in the Stranger's Hall of the palace. Cummain addressed him in verse, repeating two lines, which contained an allusion to his unhappy condition. Comgan answered in two other lines, which corresponded to or rhymed with Cummain's, who replied by another distich, and so they went on until they had

arrived at the ninth quatrain, when Cummain began the tenth by repeating the verses taught him by the angel, which were these:—

Ɔeibib cennóair caor n-buib-ƆeipƆ
ima n-bregaib alla uirb

The smith's-tongs grasp a black-red bar,
Upon which falls the ponderous sledge.

Comgan immediately replied:—

Soeinnib cuineann ar Ɔaó leit
ima reó reinnib na builƆ

Sparkles fly upon all sides,
Whilst all around the bellows play^d.

It was then that Cummain gave him the name of Mac da Cerda*, or the youth of two arts, or professions, viz. folly and poetry.

(3.) *Guaire*, son of Colman, was King of Connaght, and celebrated for his liberality and hospitality. He died A. D. 662, according to the Four Masters. See his genealogy in O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* (p. 61, and Geneal. Table). The Four Masters, at A. D. 662, quote a Poem in which it is said that the mother of Guaire was *Cumman*, daughter of Dalbronach, who was also the mother of St. Caimin of Inis-Cealtra. It is impossible, however, that this Cumman, who is said to have been blessed by St. Patrick^f, and who was the sister of St. Brigid, could have been the mother of King Guaire, who died in 662. The same *Rann*, however, quoted by the Four Masters, states that “seven and seventy sons were born of her,”

moirreirer ar reachtmoƆar, ar reó no Ɔenar uaité,

which Colgan qualifies by adding, “nempe ex ejus semine;” and we may therefore be permitted to receive with the same qualification the statement that she was the mother of Guaire. In the list of her sons given by Aengus, in his tract *De Matribus Sanctorum*, we find the name of Caimine of Inis-Cealtra, but not that of King Guaire; and the entire number of saints who sprang from her (in consequence of St. Patrick having blessed her womb) is said to be seven and forty,—conab ar rin no Ɔenebap uaité moirreirer ar dib ríchtib do naemairb, “so that on that account [viz. St.

^d *Play*.—The reader will perceive that the rhyme is in the vowels of the words ƆeipƆ and leit; uirb and builƆ, according to the usage of Irish metre. His being able to improvise these rhymes proved Comgan to be the counsellor indicated by the angel of whom Cummain was in search.

* *Mac da Cerda*.—The foregoing narrative is abridged from the original, and is not to be regarded as a translation: it has been thought worthy of preservation here as a specimen of the ancient Irish

historical tales or romances. Maelochtair, the father of Comgan, seems to have been a Pagan prince: but if so, he was afterwards converted to Christianity, for the author of the Irish Life of St. Mochuda tells us:—“It was this Maelochtair that afterwards gave the ground upon which the Church of Liamore was built, to Mochuda, when he was banished from Rathán.”

^f *St. Patrick*.—See Aengus, “On the Mothers of the Saints,” in the Book of Leacan.

Patrick's blessing] there were born of her two score and seven saints." Assuming, then, that these forty-seven (or seventy-seven, if the other account be adopted) were not her immediate children, but only her descendants (as Colgan suggests), it is probable that a too literal adherence to the words of the ancient authorities gave rise to the opinion that Guaire and Caimin were her sons. Perhaps, also, there was some confusion between the names of Cumine and Caimine, and that the statement that Cumine the Long and Guaire had the same mother, was the origin of the mistake that Caimine of Inis-Cealtra was half-brother to Guaire. A similarity or identity of name in Irish saints has been a frequent cause of confusion and error. Colgan has enumerated more than twenty saints of the name of Cumin, Cumian, Caimin, Cumen, &c., all which are, in fact, the same name in different spellings.—*Acta SS.* p. 59.

(4.) *Crimhthann Cael* is also said to have been her son. His father was Aedh Cirr, King of Leinster, who died, according to the Four Masters, A. D. 591.

(5.) *Cuana*, son of Cailchine, or Ailchine, was King or Chief of Fermaighe (Fermoy), and was called *Laeach Liathmhuine*, the hero of *Liathmhuine*, or *Cloch Liathmhuine*, in the parish of Kilgullane, barony of Fermoy*. He died, according to the Four Masters, A. D. 640, and was celebrated for his hospitality and generosity, in which virtues he was the rival of Guaire, King of Connaught. He is mentioned in the *Life of St. Molagga*, published by Colgan, and a singular instance is there given of a contest of liberality between him and Guaire, to which they were excited by certain Pagan Druids for the hope of gain, and which ended in Cuana's being induced by the Druids to abandon to plunder and massacre, as an act of generosity!! the town of *Carn-chuilinn*^b and its inhabitants.

(6.) *Breacan* of *Dairinis*. No mention of this saint is made in the Martyrologies, nor in Colgan's works, nor is he noticed in the Annals. I am, therefore, unable to give any account of him, the passage before us being (so far as I know) the only ancient authority in which his name occurs. There are two islands called *Dairinis*, celebrated as the abode of holy men: one in Munster, near Lismore (which is probably that here mentioned as the residence of St. Breacan), the other in Leinster, in the region of Hy Cinnselagh, near Wexford.—Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 397, n. 7.

The most suspicious circumstance in these narratives is the fact that *Mumhain Rimh*, or *Flann*, the mother of St. Cummain Fota, appears to have had so many hus-

* *Fermoy*.—See O'Donovan's note at A. D. 640, Four Masters.

^b *Carn-chuilinn*.—Vit. St. Molagga, c. x. sp. Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 146, who states (p. 149, n. 14), that the acts of Cuana, written by his contemporary Fiach, were extant in the book of Clonmacnois in his time:—"Extant hodie in celebri illo et vetusto

codice Cluanensi, quem *Leabhar na huidri* vocant." The fragment of this MS., now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (if it be the same as that referred to by Colgan), does not contain this work. There is an account of the death of Cuana in the Book of Leinster (MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin), fol. 199.

bands, and but one son by each of them. The unfortunate event which gave birth to St. Cummain occurred (as it would seem) whilst she was still in her father's house, and as yet unmarried. St. Cummain was born in 589, or 590; it follows, therefore, that Aedh Cirr (the father of Crimhthan Cael), must have been her first husband, as he is recorded to have died in 591. She was afterwards married to Colman, King of Connaught, and to Cailchinne, the father of Cuana, chieftain of Fermoy, but in what order does not appear, as the dates of their deaths are not preserved. Her fourth¹, and last husband, if we can trust the romantic history of Mac da Cerda, was Maelochtair, King of the Decies of Munster, from whom she was separated, as above related; after which she devoted herself to a religious life.

Her history, however, although strange and romantic, contains nothing impossible or inconsistent; and we may even go so far as to say, that the illegitimacy and irregularity attributed to St. Cummain's birth, as well as to that of many other British and Irish saints, ought to be considered as a remarkable evidence of the substantial truth of these narratives; for it is not to be supposed that writers of mere fiction would gratuitously represent those whom they wished to set forth as models of sanctity and ecclesiastical perfection, to have been born in horrible incest and fornication, if they had not been compelled to do so by the notorious facts of history².

And a little reflection will convince the reader that in the age to which these narratives refer, nothing is more probable than that children born under such irregular and criminal circumstances should be devoted to the religious life, and brought up in the monasteries. This, in fact, is one of the many evidences of the benign and civilizing influence exercised by the Church¹ over a rude and barbarous age, in which Paganism still continued to exist side by side with Christianity, and still retained no small influence over both chieftains and people. The child of crime, devoted to immediate death by its unnatural parent, was often saved by some pious hand, or by maternal yearning, and conveyed to the nearest religious house, there to be brought up in the faith. And hence many who, like St. Cummain Fota, were the offspring of fearful guilt, were led to devote themselves, perhaps for that very reason, and with

¹ *Her fourth*.—The father of St. Breacan of Dairinis is not named. If he was different from those whose names are given, then Maelochtair was her fifth husband.

² *Facts of history*.—Many similar instances are to be found in the lives of the Irish saints. St. Brigid herself was born of a concubine out of wedlock. St. Cuthbert was the offspring of fornication, as was also St. Ailbe (*Ussher's Works*, vol. vi. p. 333): and we shall have occasion to mention others in the course of this work. The same was also the case

with the British and Scottish saints. For example, St. Kentigern (*Ussher*. ib. p. 222), St. Kynedus, whose birth was exactly similar to that of St. Cummain (ib. p. 45), St. Faustus, "ex horrendo incestu natus" (ib. vol. v. p. 440), and St. David (Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 425), may be mentioned to show that the fact here noticed was not peculiar to the saints of Ireland.

¹ *The Church*.—See the case of St. German adopting the son of Gortigern, the offspring of incest.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 91.

a view to expiate the stain of their birth, to the most rigid practices of penitence and devotion.

Of the history of St. Cummain Fota but few facts are preserved. He appears to have been celebrated for learning, for he is represented to have been named by St. Columba, or rather, perhaps, the successor of St. Columba in the Abbey of Hy, as the director and spiritual adviser of King Domhnall. The legend of Guaire Aidhne and St. Camine of Inis-cealtra, above given at length, represents him as wishing to have the church filled with books of learning, for the propagation of the Gospel and of the Word of God; and in the parallel between the Irish and European saints (see p. 69, *supra*), he is said to have been similar in life and habits, "unius vitæ et moris," with St. Gregory the Great, the author of the *Liber Moraliū*.

He is recorded by the Four Masters to have been Bishop of Clonfert, and from the short poem on his death, which they have preserved (see p. 86, *supra*), it appears that he died in the southern half of Ireland, probably in his native country, and with his own tribe; and that his body was carried to *Leth Chuinn*, the northern half of Ireland, along the Shannon, to be buried, most probably, at his Cathedral Church at Clonfert; for they afterwards tell us, that in 1162 his relics were taken from the earth, and placed in a shrine by the clergy of that Cathedral.

The same authority has also informed us (see p. 86) that the tutor of St. Cummain was Colman Ua Cluasaigh, who died shortly after his pupil, in the same year, A. D. 661.

The festival day of St. Cummain Fota in the Calendar of the ancient Irish Church was the 12th of November.

IV. THE HYMN OR PRAYER OF ST. MUGINT.

THIS Hymn is in prose, and is composed in imitation of one of the Penitential Psalms of David. It has never been printed before.

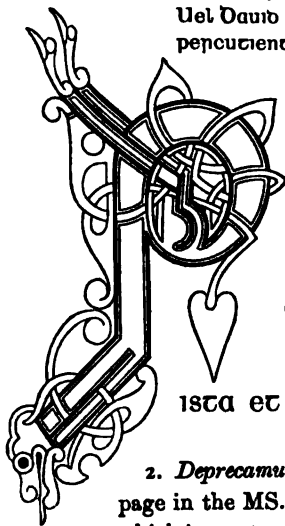
A translation of the Preface will be given in the Additional Notes, where the occasion on which the Hymn was composed, and the history and date of its author, will be discussed. The text in the MS. is not accompanied by any interlineary gloss.

The verses are numbered in the margin for the convenience of reference, although no such numbers occur in the original MS.

The first verse, *Parce Domine*, is evidently founded upon Joel, ii. 17. It occurs (preceded by the Antiphon *Ne reminiscaris*) in the Breviary of Sarum, and also in the Breviary of Aberdeen, *after* the seven Penitential Psalms; thus:—"Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris." The rubric adds, "*Non dicitur ulterius quando dicitur in choro*, Parce Domine, parce populo tuo quem redemisti precioso sanguine tuo, ne in eternum irascaris nobis; et ne des hæreditatem tuam in perditionem, ne in æternum obliviscaris nobis [*sic*]."—*Brev. Sar. (De Sanctis, fol. li.) Paris. (F. Byrckman) 1516, fol. Brev. Aberdon. [reprint by Tovey] (Psalter. fol. lxxviii.)* Both verses are still retained in the Litany of the Anglican Church, but without the clause *et ne des hæreditatem, &c.* In the modern Roman Breviary the verse *Ne reminiscaris* only (which seems to have been founded on Tobit, iii. 3) occurs as an Antiph. *before* the Penitential Psalms, the verse *Parce Domine* being omitted.



PARCE DÑE. Muginc fecit hunc cmmum hi puctpna. Caura .i. Finnen mages bile
 exie do foglaim co Muginc, 7 Rióc, 7 Talmach 7 ceteri alii pecum. Dnupt
 rex bpetan tunc, 7 habuit filiam .i. Dnuptico nomen eiur, 7 debuit eam legendo co
 Muginc, 7 amauit illa Rióc, 7 dixit Finniano, Tribuam tibi omnes libror quor
 habet Muginc peribendum, 7 Rióc debisset mihi in matrimonium. Et miuit
 Finnen Talmach ad re illa nocte in formam Rióc, 7 cognouit eam, 7 inde concepit
 ac natus est Londn tpeote. Sed Dnuptico expectauit quod Rióc eam cognouit, 7
 dixit quod Rióc pater esset filii. Sed falsum est, quia Rióc uirgo fuit. Inatus
 est Muginc tunc, 7 miuit quendam puerum in templum, 7 dixit ei 7i qui ppiur in
 hac nocte ueniat ad te in templum perouit eum recupe. Ideo dixit quia ppiur
 Finnianur pergebat ad templum. Sed tamen illa nocte, Domino impetigante, ipse
 Muginc ppiur ecclie peruenit, 7 percussit eum puer, ppheta dicente, Conuer-
 tatur dolor eiur, 7 in uerticem ipiur iniquitat eiur descendet. Et tunc dixit
 Muginc, Parce, quia putauit inimicor populum populari. Uel comas aipe do gnet
 in immunda ap na capta a chin for in popul. Uel Ambrosiur fecit dia mba i ngalup.
 Uel David fecit, ut alii dicunt, sed non uerum, adt ip huab tucab Dic angelo tuo
 percutienti, urque populo tuo.



PARCE domine parce populo tuo quem redemisti
 christe sanguine tuo et non in eternum irasceris
 nobis.

Deprecamur te domine in omni misericordia tua
 ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate
 ista et de domu sancta tua. Quoniam peccauius pec-

2. *Deprecamur.*—This word begins a page in the MS., on the upper margin of which is a note, of which only a few words are now legible. Like many of the notes written on the upper margins in this MS., it appears to have had no connexion with the text. It is not worth while, therefore, to collect the scattered fragments of

it that are still visible, which are of no value. *In ciuitate ista.*—The mention of a *ciuitas* here and in v. 5 seems to imply that this Prayer or Psalm was written to deprecate the wrath of the Almighty from some town or city: and probably on the occasion of a plague, as may be inferred from ver. 10.

cauimus tibi domine et tu iratus es nobis et non est qui
 4 effugiat manum tuam. Sed supplicemus ut ueniat super nos
 misericordia tua domine qui in Ninuen pepercisti inuocantes
 5 dominum. Exclamemus ut respicias populum tuum concul-
 catum et dolentem et protegas templum sanctum tuum ne
 ab impiis contaminetur et miserearis nimis afflicte ciuitati
 6 tue. Exclamamus omnes ad dominum dicentes.

7 **P**eccauius tibi domine peccauius patientiam habe in
 nobis et erue nos a malis que quotidie crescunt super
 8 nos. Dimitte domine peccato populi tui secundum multitu-
 dinem misericordie tue.

9 **P**ropitius fuisti patribus nostris propitius esto nobis
 10 et implebitur gloria tua in uniuersa tua. Recordare
 domine dic angelo tuo percutienti populum tuum sufficit.
 contene manum tuam et cesset interfectio que grassatur in
 populo ut non perdas omnem animam uiuentem.

11 **E**xurge domine adiuua nos et rebime nos propter n. t.

Parce domine peccantibus ignore penitentibus miserebere
 nobis te rogantibus saluatori omnium xpe perpece in nos ihu ⁊
 miserebere. Amen.

3. *Qui effugiat*.—Conf. Tobit, xiii. 2.

4. *In Ninuen*.—On this word there are two notes in the margins of the MS.; that on the right-hand margin is as follows:—
 “.i. Ninue civitas magna fuit iteneris [sic] trium dierum, que egit penitentiam in predicatione Jonae profetæ, et sic liberata est.” The note on the left-hand margin is this:—“Ninuen pulcra interpretatur. . dum significat. Alii ex nomine Nini Belii filii. i. inum urbem condidirunt [sic]

magnam, quam ebrei Ninuen appellant.”

—Conf. Jona, iii. 3.

9. *In uniuersa tua*.—We ought evidently to read “in uniuersa terra.”

10. *Dic angelo*.—2 Reg. xxiv. 16, 21.

11. *Propter n. t.*—That is, “propter nomen tuum.” The short prayer that follows is in a different character. *Pec- cantibus, penitentibus, rogantibus*, are evidently intended to rhyme.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is a mixture of Latin and Irish; the former language in this instance predominating. It will be seen that this mixture of languages extends to proper names; the Celtic form *Finnen*, and the Latinized *Finnianus*, being used indifferently.

PARCE DOMINE. Mugint made this Hymn in Futerna. The cause was this:—Finnen of Magh Bile went to Mugint for instruction, and Rioc and Talmach, and several others with him. Drust was King of Britain then, and had a daughter, viz. Drusticc was her name, and he gave her to Mugint to be taught to read; and she fell in love with Rioc, and she said to Finnian, I will give thee all the books which Mugint has, that thou mayest transcribe them, if thou wilt give me Rioc in marriage. And Finnen sent Talmach to her that night in the form of Rioc, and he knew her, and from thence was conceived and born Lonan of Treoit. But Drusticc supposed that Rioc had known her, and she said that Rioc was the father of her son. But this was false, because Rioc was a virgin. Then Mugint was wroth, and sent a certain youth into the Temple, and said to him, Whosoever comes first unto thee this night into the Temple, smite him with an axe. He said this because Finnian was in the habit of going first to the Temple: but notwithstanding, on that night, by the providence of the Lord, Mugint himself went first to the church, and the youth smote him, as the Prophet says: "For his travail shall come [upon his own head], and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate."—[Ps. vii. 17.] And then Mugint said *Parce*, because he thought that the enemies would spoil the people. Or, this was the cause why this Hymn was made, that the sin thereof might not be visited upon the people.

Or, Ambrose composed it when he was in sickness.

Or, David composed it, as others say, but this is not true, although it is from him are taken [the words], *Dis angelo tuo percutienti*, as far as *populo tuo*.

NOTE B.

Of the Historical Personages mentioned in the Scholiast's Preface.

THE story of Mugint and his repentance, as told in the Scholiast's Preface, notwithstanding the singular circumstances which it details, is confirmed by Irish history

and in its main facts is consistent with the chronology of the parties concerned, as well as with other authentic traditions. The discreditable conduct which it attributes to individuals of high reputation is, perhaps, to be regarded as an argument in favour of its substantial truth; and the age of the MS. in which it occurs proves it to have been derived from records or traditions of great antiquity, and not very far removed from the time in which the transactions in question must have taken place.

We shall proceed to examine in detail the history of the personages who figure in the story, with a view to determine its probability or authenticity, and to fix as far as possible its chronology.

I. *St. Finnen, or Finnian, of Maghbile.*

The story opens by the statement that St. Finnen, or Finnian, of Maghbile, now Movilla^a, in the parish of Newtown-ards, diocese of Down, was a student under one Mugint, at a place called *Futerna*; and that this Mugint, provoked by the circumstances detailed in the narrative, laid a snare for St. Finnian's life, which ended in his receiving himself the wound which was designed for Finnian.

This story is told in both the lives of St. Finnian, under the continental name of Frigidianus, or Frigidianus (which have been published by Colgan, at the 18th of March^b), without any essential difference, except that they omit the adventure of Drustic, as well as all mention of Rioc and Talmach; and they attribute the enmity of Mugint against St. Finnian to jealousy, arising from the lectures or sermons of St. Finnian having been more popular, and better attended than his own.

These Lives, which were both compiled on the Continent, take for granted that Frigidianus, Bishop of Lucca, in Italy, and Finnian of Maghbile, in Ireland, were one and the same person. Whether this be so or not is a question with which we are not now concerned. The Irish traditions respecting St. Finnian may have been interwoven into the life of a different person; but it may not be the less certain that the traditions so employed are authentic and ancient. In the present case there cannot be a doubt that the story of Mugint told by these Lives is derived from the same source as that recorded by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns.

The narratives of the two continental Lives are so nearly identical, that it will suffice to quote the former of them, which tells the tale in these words:—

Igitur dum B. *Fridianus* contemplationi, orationi, et elemosinarum largitioni pie intenderet, doctrina quoque non minima claruit. Unde factum est quod Magister suus, *Mugentius* nomine, qui in civitate,

^a *Movilla*.—See Reeves' *Ecc. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 151.

^b *March*.—Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 633, et sq.

quæ dicitur *Candida*, liberales disciplinas eum docuerat, (ubi etiam dicitur Episcopali officio^c vir sanctus functus fuisse), excaudens iracundia, cum duobus discipulis suis qui secum remanserant (nam plures ad B. Fridianum audiendum convenerant) machinatus est, ut ipsum nocturno silentio dolo perimeret: et quod palam in sancto viro et Regis filio^d facere non poterat, occulte impleret. Pravitatis ergo consilio firmatus, cum securibus ad ostium Ecclesiæ discipuli Mugentii accedunt, diligenter custodientes, ut virum sanctum ante omnes ad matutinas surgentem in atrio ecclesiæ occiderent, et occulte sepelirent, ne tantum nefas ad cuiusquam notitiam perveniret. Sed Angelus Domini, qui ipsum ex divino mandato ecclesiæ suæ servare volebat, ei unum de calceamentis abstulit, quod dum circumquaque B. Fridianus aberrando quæreretur, Mugentius ad ostium pervenit ecclesiæ, ubi ab insidiatoribus B. Fridiani leva dextraque percussus interiiit. Tandem ut prudens recognoscens reatum suum, continuo exclamavit: *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium*. Parce bone Fridiane, parce, laqueum paravi, et incidi in eum. Tali ergo confessionis compendio in spe salutis Mugentius vitam finivit.

S. autem Fridianus, quasi alter David, dolens de morte inimici sui, dimissâ gente^e et patriâ suâ, abiit in Hiberniam, et in loco qui vocatur Macbili^f, habitum religionis^g sumpsit, et ut sequentia luce clarius demonstrant, bonis operibus adimplevit."

The date of St. Finnian is usually ascertained from the mention of him in the Lives of St. Columbkille^h, where we read that the dispute between them about a book which St. Columbkille had borrowed from St. Finnian, and copied without the owner's

^c *Episcopali officio*.—This is improbable, and inconsistent with the story as told by the Scholiast in the Book of Hymns, according to which Finnian was with Mugint, as a young man, for his education, and not as a rival teacher, much less a bishop, at that time.

^d *Regis filio*.—St. Finnian is said to have been the son of a king of Ulster, whom some continental authors call *Ultach*, mistaking the adjective, which signifies *of Ulster*, for a proper name.—*Colgan. App. ad Vit. S. Fridiani*, c. v. (p. 649). His genealogy is thus given by Aengus the Culdee, in his Genealogies of the Saints, preserved in the Book of Leacan: "Finnbarr of Maghbile" [for so he is often called, see Colgan, ib. cap. 1] "was son of Cairpre, son of Aiillil, son of Trichim, son of Fiech, son of Findchadh" [or *Imchad*, as Colgan has it], "son of Bresall, son of Sirchad, son of Fiathach Finn" [King of Ireland] "a quo Dal Fiathach." In his book *De Matribus Sanctorum*, the same author tells us that St. Finnian's mother was named *Lassair*, which serves to identify him with the St. Finan, or Winnin, whose life is given by Capgrave, in the *Legenda Angliæ* (see also Britannia Sancta) at 10th September (which is also the day at which St. Finnian of Maghbile is commemorated in

the Martyrology of Donegal). Capgrave's St. Winnin is said to have been Irish, and of noble birth, his father's name being *Carpheus*, and his mother's *Lassara*.

^e *Dimissa gente*.—This clause seems inconsistent with the words *abiit in Hiberniam* which follow, since it is expressly stated that Hibernia was his native country. Colgan (p. 637, n. 6) proposes to read *per Hiberniam*, meaning that he left his family and country, viz. Ulster, and went through Ireland to Maghbile. But as Mugint's school was certainly not in Ireland, a more probable emendation would be "*dimissâ gente et patriâ illâ, abiit in Hiberniam*," which would give a good sense. Besides, it seems to have escaped Colgan's recollection that Movilla was in Ulster: and that if Ulster be what is meant by his country, Finnian did not quit his country when he settled at Movilla.

^f *Macbili*.—Meaning *Maghbile*, now *Movilla*.

^g *Habitus religionis*.—The second Life published by Colgan from a MS. in the Chartreuse of Cologne, reads here, "*habitus religionis Canonicorum regularium D. Augustini sumpsit*."—See *Colgan. Append. c. 4*, p. 646.

^h *St. Columbkille*.—See Colgan. *App. ad Vit. S. Frigidiani*, c. 3. *Acta SS.* p. 643 sq.

leave, led to the battle of Cuilbreimhne, fought A. D. 561; at which time, therefore, both before and after that event, St. Finnian must have been in Ireland. The Lives also tell us that he visited Rome during the Pontificate of Pelagius I. (A. D. 555-560). But the Irish Annals record his death in the year 579¹. We cannot therefore fix his school days at a period earlier than 500, or 520.

A similar result is obtained by an examination of the facts recorded in the English or British Life of "S. Finanus episcopus et confessor," published by Capgrave, in the *Legenda Angliæ*². This St. Finanus, whom the Welsh called *Winnin* ("qui et Wallico nomine Winninus appellatur"), is identified, as we have seen, with St. Finnian of Maghbile, by his genealogy³. It is stated that he was first placed under the instruction of Colman, a Bishop, and afterwards sent to Coelanus abbot of Noendrum⁴, who, however, foreseeing his future eminence, refused to undertake his further education, and at Finnian's own suggestion, sent him away with a British Bishop named Nennio, who had just touched at the island of Nendrum, and was about to return to his See, called *Magnum Monasterium*. This story is thus told by the biographer:—

"Adveniente post hæc Colmanno antistite ad erudiendum docilis puer traditur, cum quo in omni obedientia et humilitate aliquot annis instructus est. Factum est aliquando dum beatus antistes manum suam ad sanctum puerum jam legentem⁵ quadam de causa percutiendum cum flagello sursum extenderet, angelus Domini ipsam in aere suspensam retinuit. Quo facto Finanus in terra prostratus ait, Pater mi cur me non cedis? Et ille, Fili hoc volo facere, sed tamen divinitus impeditus sum. Ergo si vis flagellari ad alium magistrum ire te oportet; ego enim ab hac hora nunquam te corripiam. Et misit eum ad venerabilem

¹ In the year 579.—The Annals of Tighernach, and Chron. Scotorum, have "Quies Finiani episcopi nepotis Fiatach," at A. D. 579. And the Dublin MS. of the Ann. of Ulster, at 578, has "Quies Uinniani [which O'Connor prints erroneously *Umanian*] episcopi, mic nepotis Fiatach." The Annals of Inisfallen give the "Quies Finniæ Moigebille," under 572. But 579 is evidently the true date. Colgan, who had no access to the Annals of Ulster or Tighernach, assigns his death to A. D. 595.—*Acta SS.* p. 650. But Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 794) says that St. Fridian died 13th March, 578, and that his body was found in the Church of St. Vincent, Lucca, and translated to a more honourable tomb on the 18th Nov. 782, on which day his festival has since been kept there. Ussher, identifying Finnian of Maghbile with St. Winnyn, places his return to Ireland from Rome at the year 540.—*Index Chron.* (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 590).

² *Legenda Angliæ*.—I quote from a copy entitled "Nova Legenda Angliæ. Impressa Londoniæ: in domo Winandi de Worde: commorantis ad signum solis in vico nuncupato (the fiete strete) Anno dñi M.CCCC.XVI. xxvij die Februarij." The Life of St. Finnian occurs fol. cxlvii. b.

³ *Genealogy*. See above, p. 99, note d.

⁴ *Noendrum*, or Nendrum.—Now Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough, so called from St. Mochaio, its patron saint. Dr. O'Connor, in various passages of the Annals, translates the name of this place *Antrim*: and the same error has been committed by Dr. Lanigan and others. Dr. Reeves was the first to ascertain, and fix beyond all question, the true situation of this once celebrated place.—See his *Eccl. Antiquities of Down and Connor*, pp. 11, and 187 sq.

⁵ *Legentem*.—The text has *legente*, but *legentem* seems necessary for the sense.

senem Coelanum Noendrumensem abbatem, et ut corporis illius ac animæ curam haberet diligenter commendavit. At ille faciem juvenis intuens statim dixit, Iste meus nunquam erit discipulus, vere enim in celo et in terris honore et merito longe me precellit. Nam episcopus erit sapientiâ clarus, et religione ac sanctitate conspicuus. Hoc audito Finanus prophético spiritu tactus ait, Nec mora videbitis huc venire quem sequar, et sub quo erudiar, qui mihi in omnibus necessitatibus succurrat. Et ecce naves quibus sanctissimus pontifex nomine Nennio cum suis inerat de Britannia venientes portum insulæ^o coram monasterio tenuerunt. Quibus cum gaudio et honore susceptis, prefati patres^p juvenem Finanum venerabili episcopo cum omni diligentia commendarunt. Cum eodem repatriante^r navigavit, et in ejus sede quæ Magnum vocabatur Monasterium regulas et institutiones monasticæ vitæ aliquot annia, probus Monachus didicit, atque in sanctarum Scripturarum paginis non parum proficiens insudavit, et per invocationem nominis Christi multa miracula fecit."

It can scarcely be doubted that the Colman here spoken of as the first tutor or instructor of St. Finnian, was Colman, the founder and first Bishop of the See of Dromore, although Ussher (who is followed by Ware and Harris) assigns to that prelate a date that would be inconsistent with this supposition, and consequently distinguishes between Colman the tutor of St. Finnian, whose "floruit" he places at A. D. 500, and Colman of Dromore, whose *birth* he assigns to the year 516. This mistake arose from confounding this Colman with St. Colman-ela, as Dr. Lanigan^r has clearly shown. But the means of correcting it are at hand. Two facts recorded in the Life of St. Colman of Dromore are sufficient for this purpose. The first is, that prior to the foundation of his church of Dromore, he consulted St. Mac Nissi as to the exact site for the foundation, who pointed out to him the district of Magh Cobha^a. Now Mac Nissi died in 514^t, and therefore St. Colman must have flourished before that

^o *Insula*.—i. e. of the island of Nendrum.

^p *Prefati patres*.—viz. Colman and Coelan.

^r *Repatriante*.—The text has *repatriantem*, which seems to be a mistake.

^t *Dr. Lanigan*.—Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 431 sq. Ussher derives the date of 516 from the statement of the biographers of St. Patrick, that St. Colman-ela was predicted by the Apostle of Ireland sixty years before his birth. This prophecy having been said to be delivered during St. Patrick's visit to Dalaradia in 456 (see Index Chron. in that year), gives 516 for the birth of St. Colman. But *sixty* years (as Dr. Reeves has remarked, *Eccles. Ant.* p. 304, n.) was a favourite term for prophecies of this nature; and no chronological inference can be derived from such figures.

^a *Magh Cobha*.—See the Life of St. Colman printed by the Bollandists, 7th June, from a Sala-

manca MS. now at Brussels. The passage referred to is this: "Deinde sæpe venerabilem Macnyseum Conderensem episcopum petiit [Colmanus], qui hospitum præsciens adventum, eis necessaria jussit præparari. Ille itaque illuc perveniens, in omni hilaritate susceptus est, ibique paucis diebus mansit. Dehinc inito consilio venerabilem senem, ubi locum serviendi Deo fundare deberet, consulit. Qui respondit: Voluntas Dei est, ut in finibus *Campi Coba* tibi construas monasterium."—Cap. i. sect. 3 (*Acta SS.* tom. ii. Junii, p. 26). The biographer then states that St. Colman, in accordance with this oracle, immediately repaired to the valley pointed out, and there built his church (*sedem sibi constituit*), on the banks of the river *Locha* [now the *Lagan*].

^t *In 514*.—See what has been said on this date, in the Introd. to the Book of Obits of Christ Church, p. 73.

year. Ussher is therefore correct in fixing the foundation of the See of Dromore at the year 500.

But secondly, we read also that Colman, when a boy, was sent by his parents, for education^u, to St. Caylan, Abbot of Nendrum, the very same to whom he afterwards transferred his own pupil, St. Finnian, under the circumstances narrated in the Life of the latter. But, as we shall see presently, Caylan, or Coelan, died in 497, according to Tighernach, so that Colman must have been under his instruction some years before that date, seeing that, in the meantime, he had lived to become a teacher of youth himself, and to consult his own venerable master in his difficulties respecting his pupil Finnian. We must therefore fix Colman's birth^v at 455, or thereabouts, a century before that of St. Colman-ela.

Coelanus, or Caylanus, the Abbot of Noendrum, was in advanced years, "venerabilis senex," when Colman sent St. Finnian to him for further instruction. He is better known by the name of Mochaoi^x, under which form he still lives in the modern name of his island Noendrum, now *mup Mochaoi*, or Mahee's Island. Ussher^y states, on the authority of the writer of his Acts, that Caolan was afterwards promoted from the Abbey of Nendrum to the See of Down,—"*ex abbate Dunensem postea in Ultonia factum fuisse episcopum significat*;" and hence Ware has made him the first Bishop of that See. We have no access now to the Acts or Life to which Ussher refers, and therefore are unable to determine whether this was stated by the author as a fact, and not rather as a probable conjecture, which Ussher's use of the word *significat* would seem to imply. However, be this as it may, the statement appears to be incorrect, and is not confirmed by other authorities^z.

The Annals of Ulster have recorded the death of Mochaoi at the year 496 (in which they are followed by the Four Masters), but they also give 498 from another authority. The true date is 497, as in the Annals of Tighernach. It appears that Coelan or Mochai was originally a swineherd, and was met by St. Patrick in one of his apostolical journeys, by whom he was converted to Christianity and baptized^a;

^u *For education*.—"Posthæc ad St. Caylanum Nendrumensem abbatem, ut apud eum literis addiceret, a parentibus traditus est, qui eum diligenter instruxit, et bonis moribus informavit."—*Vit. S. Colmani*, c. i. sect. 3.

^v *Colman's birth*.—Colman of Dromore is generally called by the Irish authorities Mocholmog, i. e. *Mo Colm-og* [or *Colman-og*], i. e. my-little-Colman, for so the ancient Irish expressed their devotion to the saints, prefixing the pronoun *mo*, *my*, and adding *og*, little. See above, p. 86, note ^u.

^x *Mochaoi*.—See also Reeves' *Eccl. Hist. of Down and Connor*, p. 143-4. The Scholiast on *Marianus Gorman*, at June 23, tells us that St. Mochaoi of Nendrum had been originally called Caolan, *Caolan a amh pén*. See also the gloss on the *Felire of Aengus*, and *Martyr. Dungal*, *ead. die*.

^y *Ussher*.—*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 17 (*Works*, vol. vi. 529).

^z *Authorities*.—See Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.* i. p. 422, and Reeves, *loc. cit.*

^a *Baptized*.—*Vit. Tripart.* part i., c. 53.

and as this first interview was before St. Patrick's appearance at Tara, we cannot assign to it a later date than 433^b. Coelan was then "adolescens," that is, we may assume, about fourteen or fifteen years of age; he must, therefore, have been born about 420, and consequently was 76 or 78 when he died.

These dates are quite consistent with the mention which occurs of him in the Lives of SS. Colman and Finnian, and are in all probability very close to the truth.

From this it appears that the year 497 or 498 is, probably, the latest date that can be assigned to St. Finnian's going into Britain to complete his ecclesiastical or monastic education under Bishop Nennio of the Great Monastery. •

This Nennio is identified by Colgan (1 Mart. p. 437), with St. Moinennus or Monennius (Moeinnend, Maoinenn, or Moenu, in the Irish Annals), Bishop of Clonfert, who, he tells us, "claruit in Hibernia circa annum 560," and died 570. But if this date be correct, it is not possible, or at least it is highly improbable, that this can be the same Nennio, who became the tutor of St. Finnian in or before 498. For he was then a Bishop, and assuming that he was not less than thirty years of age in 498, he must have been upwards of a century old when he died in 570.

Colgan has also identified him with the Nennio, Monennus, or Mancennus (Mo-Ninnibh), who is said to have been tutor to St. Tighernach of Clones, Bishop of Clogher, as also to St. Eoghan or Eugenius, Bishop of Ardstraw, and to St. Enna or Endæus of the Aran Islands. But here there is evidently a mistake; for Tighernach was Bishop of Cluaineoais, and is commonly supposed to have succeeded^c St. Mac Carthen in the See of Clogher in 506. He died in 544, according to the *Ann. Tighern.*, not 550, as Ussher has it. Assuming, therefore, that he was thirty years of age when he became a Bishop, he must have been born before 476, and, supposing the tutor Nennio or Monennus to have been twenty years older than his pupil, he must have been (if identical with the Monennus of March 1st) at least 114 years old when he died in 570. This is unlikely.

Again, St. Enna is said to have received the gift of the Aran Isles from Ængus, King of Munster, who died 489; before that time he had been some years at Rome, as his biographer relates, and had founded a monastery^d in Italy. The exact year of his death is not recorded by our annalists, but he was alive in 529, when St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois visited him in the Aran Isles; and he lived to 540, or later, as Colgan shows, *Append. ad Vit. S. Endei*, c. 5 (p. 714). If so, he must have lived to the age of 90

^b *Than* 433.—See Reeves, *ibid.* p. 188.

^c *Succeeded*.—See Ussher, *Index Chron.* (Works, vol. vi. p. 582). We are not to suppose, however, that there was then any regular diocesan succession of bishops in Ireland.

^d *A Monastery*.—"Monasterium quod Latinum nominatur crexit."—*Vit. S. Endei*, c. 6; ap. Colgan.

Act. SS. p. 705, who suggests that we ought to read *Latium*, not *Latium*, in consequence of what the author adds: "Et quidem congrue Latinum monasterium illud vocatur, ubi mandatum charitatis in Deum et in proximum illibate observatur." See Colgan. not. 17 in *Vit. S. Fanchæ*, 1 Jan. *Act. SS.* p. 4.

or 100; and consequently his master Nennio (if he was identical with the Nennio who died in 570) must have been of the improbable age of 120 or 130 when he died.

Eoghan or Eugenius of Ardstraw was of a somewhat later date; Ussher gives the year 570^e, as the period when he "florished" in Ireland; and if this be correct, he can scarcely have had the same tutor as Tighernach and Enna.

From these considerations it follows that we must distinguish between the Moenu or Maoinenn, Bishop of Clonfert, the disciple of St. Brendan^f (who died, according to the Four Masters, 1 March, 570), and the Nennio, Mo-Ninnidh, or Mancennus, who was the tutor of St. Tigernach and St. Enna. It is, however, very possible that this Nennio may have been the same who is mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian, and with whom Finnian went to Britain to complete his ecclesiastical education; although it is to be observed that the tutor of St. Tigernach is described as having been Abbot of Rosnat in Britain (which place is said to have been also called *Alba*^g), whilst the tutor of Finnian is styled a Bishop, whose See had the name of *Magnum Monasterium*.

Colgan, in his Notes to the Life of St. Fanchea (Jan. 1), suggests that Rosnat was probably the Vallis Rosinæ^h, in Wales. But in his notes on St. Moinennus (March 1) he identifies it with the Magnum Monasterium mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian, and makes both to be the Abbey of Bangor in N. Wales; without any reason, except that Rosnat is said to have been also called *Alba*, which agrees with the supposed (but erroneous) signification of Ban-chor, *albus chorus* (the true meaning being *altus chorus*); and because the British writers tell us that Nennius of Bangor was the tutor of St. Finnian.

But this last statement is a manifest mistake, confounding the Nennio mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian with Nennius the compiler of the *Historia Britonum*, who is commonly, although erroneouslyⁱ, said to have been a monk or Abbot of Bangor, but who at all events lived in the middle of the *ninth* century.

^e *The year 570.*—Colgan (Index Chron. p. 831), gives the year 540 as the "floruit" of Eugenius. But he builds this date on the assumed identity of Monennius of Rosnat, with the Moinennus of 1 March, who died in 570.

^f *Disciple of St. Brendan.*—There is a reason to suspect some confusion between the Maineann, Moennean, or Moenne of the Irish Calendars, whose memory was celebrated on the Kalends of March, and Moenna or Moena, Latinized by Colgan *Moennus* or *Mainus*, whose festival was the 26th of February. Both are said to have been disciples of St. Brendan at Clonfert, and both were Bishops. The latter is supposed by Colgan, *Act. SS.* p. 413, 414, to be

the same as the S. Mainus who ultimately settled in Britany, at or near Dola, and died there about 590, although in the English Calendar his day was 15th June.

^g *Alba.*—"Deinde B. puer [S. Tighernachus] libertati restitutus, S. Monenni disciplinis et monitis in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba vocatur, diligenter instructus, &c."—*Vit. S. Tighernachi*, c. 3 (cited by Colgan, *Acta SS.* p. 438).

^h *Vallis Rosinæ.*—This was the valley in which Menevia or St. David's was erected. See Colgan's note on Life of St. David.—*Acta SS.* p. 430.

ⁱ *Erroneously.*—See Mr. Herbert's *Introd.* to the Irish version of Nennius, p. 9.

I am therefore very much disposed to adopt the opinion of Cressy and Lanigan^k, that Rosnatum was the celebrated *Candida Casa*, or *Whüherne*, in Galloway: white-aern, or white-house, its Saxon appellation, being derived^l, as Bede tells us, from the church built of white stone by St. Ninian its founder,—the first stone edifice ever seen in that country. The great celebrity of the school or academy^m which flourished there, which was frequented by a vast number of monks and scholars, sufficiently accounts for the designation of *Magnum Monasterium*. This conclusion is strengthened by several considerations:—

1. The position of *Candida Casa* rendered it very accessible to students from the north of Ireland; and it is remarkable, as Dr. Lanigan has observed, that almost all those who are spoken of as having studied at Rosnat, or Alba, were natives of Ulster. It is known that Galloway derived its name from an ancient colony of Gaedhil, or Irish, who were early settlers in that country.

2. The Scholiast of the Book of Hymns tells us that the school in which Finnian studied under Mugint was at *Futerna*, which is manifestly *Whiterna*, or *Whitern*, the *Wh* being represented by *F*ⁿ. The *Civitas quæ dicitur Candida*, in the continental Lives of St. Finnian published by Colgan, is only another way of translating the Saxon name, and is evidently identical with *Candida Casa*.

^k *Cressy and Lanigan*.—See Cressy, *Church History of Britanny* (Book xi. c. 15) p. 240, and Lanigan, *Ecccl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 437. As Lanigan makes no reference to Cressy, it would seem that he had arrived at this opinion independently. Comp. also Mr. Herbert's *Introd. to the Irish Neunius*, p. 5.

Bede.—*Hist. Ecccl.*, lib. iii. c. 4.

^m *Academy*.—St. Aelred, in his *Life of Ninian*, c. 10 (published by Pinkerton in his *Vita Antiqua Sanctorum Scotiae*), informs us that Ninian, in his own lifetime, had established at *Whiterna* a seminary of learning, where he received the children of the nobles and gentry of the country in great numbers:—"Interes, Beato pontifici plures tam nobiles, quam mediocres, filios suos tradunt sacris literis imbuendos, quos scientia erudiebat, et moribus informabat, &c." It was not unnatural that such an establishment should have obtained the name of *Magnum Monasterium* in comparison with the smaller schools of Coelan, in the island Noendrum, Colman, at Dromore, &c.

ⁿ *Represented by F*.—This pronunciation of the aspirated W is still common in many parts of Ireland,

where the peasantry still pronounce the word *white* nearly as *fight*; and the author of Capgrave's *Life of St. Finnian* tells us that in Wales his name was pronounced *Winnin*. See above, p. 99. Although the identity of *Futerna* and *Whiterna* is so obvious, yet Colgan suggests (*ib.* p. 637), that *Druim-finn* (i. e. collis, sive mons candidus), a church in the county Louth, in Ireland, may be meant. His only reason is that St. Finnian was at *Drum-finn* (see O'Donnell, *Vit. Columbæ*, lib. ii. c. 1), when St. Columcille borrowed from him the book which was the cause of their celebrated dispute. But this conjecture (which Colgan himself dismisses with an "ego indecisum relinquo") needs no confutation. It is only fair, however, to notice here, that Colgan's copy of the Book of Hymns does not appear to have had any mention of *Futerna*, for he quotes the passage thus:—"Mugentium Britannum fuisse magistrum S. Findiani Magbilensis . . . tradit vetus Scholiastes in Librum Hymnorum, in prefatione ad hymnum qui incipit *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo*, &c. dicens:—*Findianus de Magbile exiit studiorum causa ad Mugentium, et Riocbus et Talmachus et alii secum*."

3. There is also much probability in Dr. Lanigan's conjecture that the name of Nennio, which is the same as Nennius, and Ninianus, was given to the Bishop of the Magnum Monasterium, according to the ancient custom of naming the *comharb* or successor after the saint by whom his See was originally founded^o. And the whole spirit of the story confirms this idea. Colman, finding that Finnian had become his superior, and that a miraculous interposition had prevented his exercising over the saintly boy the authority of a master, sends him to the venerable Coelan, who had been his own instructor. Coelan again acknowledges his inferiority; and it is resolved that no place is worthy of receiving so distinguished a scholar, except the Magnum Monasterium, the great academy, or ecclesiastical university of that age and neighbourhood, the Candida Casa of St. Ninian. And when the Ninian of the day, the successor of St. Ninian in the See of Whiterne, was miraculously directed to the very gate of St. Coelan's monastery, no further doubt remained as to the destination of St. Finnian; and he was at once placed under the care of the British Bishop.

4. And further, it is by no means impossible that Mugint, the name of St. Finnian's teacher at Whiterne, as given in the Book of Hymns, may be one of the forms of Nennio, Mo-nennius, Moinennus, Mangenus, Mancenus, or Mancennus, the appellations given him in other authorities. For in Irish names the doubled n, especially when at the end of a word, is often represented by *nd* and *nt*; so that Mancenn would, without much difficulty, give Mancend, or Mangent; and if we suppose the syllable *Man* to become *Ma* or *Mo* (for *n* before a consonant is often dropped^p in Celtic pronunciation), we arrive at the very name given by the Scholiast in the Book of Hymns, *Mogent*, or *Mugint*.

There is, however, a Maugantius, Meugant, or Meigant, celebrated in British history, and in the hagiology of Wales, who, from the similarity of name and probable coincidence of date, may, with some plausibility, be suspected to have been the same who was the tutor of St. Finnian at Candida Casa.

This Maugantius, as he is called by Geoffrey or Galfridus of Monmouth, appears to have been one, and perhaps the chief of Vortigern's twelve Druids, Bards, or Magi^q (for so they are called, although professing Christianity). To him especially the King applied to have his doubts cleared up as to the possibility of the story told by Merlin's mother of the supernatural nature of her son's birth^r. On this was probably founded

^o *Founded*.—See above, p. 83, n. ¹.

^p *Often dropped*.—Thus, the Latin *centum* becomes in Irish, *ced*; *argentum*, *airgit*; *viginti*, *fichit*, &c.

^q *Magi*.—See Galf. Monumetensis, *Hist. Regum Brit.*, lib. vi. c. 17. "Vocatis denique magis suis, consuluit illos," &c. And compare *Irish Version of*

Nennius, p. 91. Of the Christianity of the Britons under Vortigern, Galfridus says (*ib.* c. 13): "Corrupta namque fuerat Christianitas eorum, tum propter paganos quos rex in societatem eorum posuerat, tum propter Pelagianam hæresim," &c.

^r *Birth*.—"Admirans itaque rex, jussit Mangan-tium ad se revocari, ut sibi manifestaret, si id quod

the account which Leland^a has given us of Maugantius, which has been copied by Bale, Pitseus, Tanner, &c. Maugantius was therefore a contemporary of Vortigern, which agrees, as far as chronology is concerned, with the Welsh genealogies, where we read that Meigant (which is perhaps the correct orthography of the name) was the son of Gwyndaf Hên (or the Old), who was the son of Emyr Llydaw, or Ambrose of Letavia, i. e. Armorica, who is said to have been the son of a sister of the celebrated St. German^b, by Aldor, son of Cynfor.

By the mother's side Meigant was descended from the kings or chieftains of Morganwg (Glamorganshire); for his father married Gwenonwy, daughter of Meirig, King of Morganwg, who succeeded his father Tewdrig^c in that sovereignty A. D. 446.

muller dixerat fieri potuisset. Adductus autem Maugantius, auditis omnibus ex ordine, dixit ad Vortigirnum: In libris philosophorum nostrorum, et in plurimis historiis reperi," &c.—*Hist. Reg. Brit.*, *ibid.* c. 18. Of these books Galfridus mentions particularly the works of Apuleius; and from this, without any other evidence, Bale sets him down as having written *De magia naturali*, lib. 1, and *Apuleii expositio*.—*De Script.* i. 47; and in this he is followed by Pitseus, p. 89.

^a Leland.—This account is as follows (*De Scriptoris*, c. 28, p. 49):—"Maugantius se neglectum, spreum et contemptum putaret, nisi ad numerum eruditiorum accederet. Certe quantum per me stabit, officii meminerō. Ad rem igitur. Maugantius penitiori rerum naturalium cognitioni studebat; sed tanta cum felicitate et successu, ut præter communem philosophorum sortem visus sit sapere: quo calculo vel ipsis Britanniae principibus quam charissimus erat, et præcipue Vortigerno regi; cui, cum propter multam in rebus humanis experientiam, tum etiam propter singulare in magia, naturali quidem illa, iudicium, a secretis consiliis fuit. Unde et libenter crediderim, illum regi suo persuasisse ut Merlinum, inter magos, id est, sapientes semideum accersiret. Nec me interim fugit, multas circumferri et nugæ et vanitates, quæ tantorum virorum elevent auctoritatem. Sed placeant talia bardis Cambriæ indigenis. Ego autem mea scribe tersis auribus, et exquisitis nostri sæculi iudiciis: non quod legerim aliquid a Magantio scriptum (qui enim facile potui, post tam insignem cladem a Britannia acceptam,

aliquid ab eo editum, si modo quicquid edidit, invenire?), sed ut fidem lectori faciam, insulam non caruisse nostram magnæ famæ philosophis, ne tum quidem, cum Vortiginus et Saxones de imperio contenderent."

^b *Gwyndaf Hên*.—Meigant was President or Chaplain of the College of St. Illtyd, at Llantwyt-major, and afterwards removed to that founded by Dubricius at Caerleon.—Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 219. *Iolo MSS.* (printed by the Welsh MSS. Society), p. 132. In the *Auchau Saint Inys Prydain* (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 100), St. Cyndaf, or Gwyndaf, the father of Meigant Hên (see p. 102, No. 32, *ibid.*), is said to have been "gwr o' Israel,"—an *Israelite*. What this may mean is difficult to say: can it really mean that Cyndaf was a Jew by birth? It is remarkable, however, that Meigant is here called *Hên*, or the senior, implying that there was a junior Meigant, who was possibly the author of the poems printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. i. 59, which the editors date A. D. 600 to 650.

^c *St. German*.—See the Genealogy, Tab. ix., in Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 123, and Tab. xiii. p. 165. The date of St. German's death seems very well ascertained to be A. D. 448. See Ussher, *Index Chron.* (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 571, Elrington's edit.), and *Iolo MSS.*, p. 533.

^d *Tewdrig*.—Tewdrig flourished, according to Professor Rees, between A. D. 440 and 470: and in or about 446 is said to have resigned the sovereignty of Glamorgan to his son, Meurig, after which he retired to lead a religious life in the solitude of

It is said that Meigant was one of the original students or disciples of St. Illtyd, or Iltutus, at his College of Llantwy-t-major*, in Glamorganshire, and that he was afterwards transferred to Caerleon, to the academy founded by Dubricius in that city. He retired, in his old age, to Inys Enlli, or Bardsey Island, where he died and lies buried†.

Here it is to be observed that the Welsh records make no mention of Meigant having ever been at Candida Casa, and scarcely leave room for his being there, especially if he met with his death, or the wound which caused his death, there, as the Legend in the Book of Hymns, and in the Lives of St. Fridianus, has it. We can only reconcile the two accounts by supposing that his connexion with the Colleges of Lantwy-t-major and Caerleon took place in the earlier part of his life; that his wound was not immediately mortal, and that he had time to retire to Bardsey to complete his repentance, and die in monastic retirement‡. On this hypothesis his residence at Whiterne must have been subsequent to the year 492, and probably from 500 to 520: a date which would square pretty well with the history of St. Finnian, and of the other Irish saints who are said to have been the pupils of Nennio or Monennius.

On the whole, however, I am disposed to think that the Welsh saint, or Druid, was never at Whiterne; and that the Mugint, who is mentioned in the Scholiast's legend as the head of the school or academy there in the days of St. Finnian, was the same, under a different name (or rather a different form of the name), as the Nennius, Monennius, or Mancennus, who is spoken of in the authorities already referred to,—that name signifying that he was the *comharb* or successor of Nennio, or Ninian, in the Magnum Monasterium of Whiterne.

II. *St. Rioc or Righocc.*

St. Finnian, when he placed himself under the instruction of Mugint at Whiterne, is said by the Scholiast to have been accompanied by Rioc and Talmach. We must therefore next inquire into the history of these personages.

Tintern, Monmouthshire. He was afterwards, however, induced to head his country's troops against the Saxons, and fell in battle about A. D. 470.—*Rees*, p. 184. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 353.

* *Llantwy-t-major*.—Some accounts place the foundation of this college at A. D. 450, which is very improbable, if Illtyd was its first principal, as all the authorities state. Others make it 520, which seems a mistake on the other side. As Dubricius, Bp. of Llandaff, its reputed founder, was translated

to Caerleon in 490, or 492, it seems probable that the College of Llantwy-t was founded before, and that of Caerleon after that year.—*Rees' Welsh Saints*, pp. 178–9. Dubricius died in 522.—*Liber Llandavensis*, p. 633.

† *Buried*.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 132.

‡ *Retirement*.—He is supposed to have been the founder of the churches of Llanfeugan [i. e. Church of Meugan], Brecknockshire; and there are also chapels consecrated to his memory, or under his in-

St. Rioc, or Righoc [i. e. *Regulus*, the diminutive of Righ, *rex*] is said, on the authority of Aengus the Culdee^a, to have been a son of St. Patrick's sister Darerca, by a Briton, or Welshman, named Conis. He was born in Wales, and afterwards removed to Ireland, where he became, ultimately, abbot of Inisbofinn, an island in Lough Ribh, in the Shannon, the seat of a celebrated monastery.

These are the facts of his life, of which (with the exception of his being literally St. Patrick's nephew) there appears to be no reasonable doubt; but when we come to fix his age, and to date the events in question, we are met by considerable difficulties.

The later Lives of St. Patrick tell us that Rioc arrived in Ireland during his uncle's lifetime, and accompanied him in his apostolic journeys as a deacon and keeper of his sacred books, being at that time a very young man, and remarkable for the natural grace and beauty^a of his person. This circumstance tallies with the story told by our Scholiast of the violent affection which the Pictish princess Drusticc conceived for Rioc.

But if we are right in fixing the year 500 as the earliest probable date of St. Finnian's residence at Whiterne, Rioc could scarcely have been the companion of St. Patrick, even as a deacon, and in his earliest youth; for St. Patrick's death is fixed by Colgan^b, after Ussher, and the best Irish authorities, at the year 493, the latest date^c to which it can be assigned, even allowing him to have lived to the age of 120. It is clear, therefore, that if Rioc had been St. Patrick's deacon before 493, he could not have been a student at Whiterne in 500; or at least he must then have been nearly forty years of age.

This difficulty is increased if we receive the assertion of Colgan^d, that Rioc had laboured *for many years* with St. Patrick, and had been by him consecrated a Bishop.

vocation, viz. St. Moughan's, subject to Llangattwg Feibion Afel, Monmouthshire: and Capel Meugan, formerly subject to Llandegfan, Anglesey. —Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 269.

^a *Aengus the Culdee*.—*De Matribus Sanctorum*, quoted by Colgan, not. 26 *ad Vit. S. Melis*. (6 Febr.) *Act. SS.* p. 263. See the original, *infra*, p. III.

^a *Beauty*.—Jocelin tells a story of an Irish chieftain, Eoghan, son of Niall the Great (see *Vit. Tripart.*, lib. ii. c. 114), who had become a convert to Christianity, but was so frightfully deformed, that he besought St. Patrick to intercede with the Almighty that his outward form might be changed into a less repulsive shape. St. Patrick, yielding to his request, asked him to point out some one whom

he would wish to resemble. Eoghan at once named the deacon Rioc, who was at that time—"speciosus forma præ illis hominum in finibus illis degentium."

—*Vit. S. Patricii*, c. 84, ap. Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 84. The same story is told in nearly the same words by the author of the *Tripartite Life*, lib. ii. c. 114 sq., and more concisely in the fourth life, c. 71.—*Colg.*, *ib.* p. 44.

^b *Colgan*.—*Trias. Th.*, p. 234. *Append. 5ta ad Vitam S. Patr.*, cap. 7.

^c *The latest date*.—Dr. Lanigan contends for the year 465 as the year of St. Patrick's death.—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 363. This would strengthen my argument; but it is not necessary for our present purpose to go into this question.

^d *Colgan*.—"Cum vero multis jam annis in

For if he was a Bishop before St. Patrick's death, that is, before 493, he must have been then at least thirty years old, and therefore must have been upwards of 60 when he went to Whiterne in 520.

The same author also asserts, on the authority of Jocelin, that Rioc came to Ireland with his brothers*, Bishops Mel and Mune, in the year 454; and if we suppose him to have been then ten years old (which is the least that can be assumed), he would be 78 in 520, a period of life in which it would scarcely have been possible for him to have involuntarily engaged the affections of the susceptible Drusticc, however great his personal attractions may have been in early life.

For the first of these statements, that Rioc laboured "*many years*" with St. Patrick, Colgan does not appear to have any authority. But it will follow necessarily, if we suppose him to have come to Ireland in 454, and to have been then at once received into the company of St. Patrick's immediate attendants.

For the second, that Rioc was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick,—Colgan quotes Jocelin, Aengus the Culdee, the Calendar of Cashel, Marianus Gorman, and the Martyrology of Tamhlacht.

But these authorities merely call him a Bishop without saying by whom he was consecrated. We shall examine them in detail.

1. Jocelin's words (c. 50) are these: "*Darerca vero sororum ultima, mater erat episcoporum sanctorum, Mel, Rioc, et Munis, quorum pater dicebatur Conis*". He does not make any distinction of age between these brothers, nor does he say that they were all, or any of them, consecrated by St. Patrick. Still he distinctly asserts that they were all Bishops, and that they were all companions to St. Patrick in his apostolical labours: "*Hi similiter in prædicatione, et itinere B. Patricium comitabantur, et in locis diversis Pontificalem dignitatem sortiebantur.*"

We must recollect, however, that this is the language of a writer of the latter end of the twelfth century⁵; and that his testimony in a question of chronology is of no weight in comparison with that of an authority of the seventh or eighth century.

2. St. Aengus, a writer of the ninth century, would be entitled to more respect if we were quite sure that his works, as we now have them, were free from interpola-

opere Evangelii Sancto Patricio collaborasset, tandem, exigentibus meritis, ab eodem est episcopus ordinatus."—*Act. SS.*, p. 267.

* *With his brothers.*—Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 268, not. 4.

¹ *Conis.*—Colgan. *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 76.

⁵ *Twelfth century.*—It is remarkable that the author of the Tripartite Life seems carefully to avoid giving the title of Bishop to St. Rioc, although he

states generally that Rioc and his brothers followed St. Patrick to Ireland. His words are:—"Cum enim S. Patricius ex Britannia in Hiberniam trajecisset, S. Munis episcopus illum, suosque germanos fratres S. Melem episcopum, et S. Riocum de *Inisbofinne*, secutus est."—*Vit. Trip.*, part ii. c. 21. This seems to imply that Munis, Mel, and Rioc accompanied St. Patrick to Ireland. The older Lives of St. Patrick make no mention of Rioc whatsoever.

tion. But even as they stand, his statement goes no farther than the general title of Bishop, which he gives to all Darerca's fifteen sons. He does not say that Rioc was consecrated by St. Patrick, or that he was the companion of St. Patrick in his missionary labours: and it is worthy of notice that, although he repeats the title of Bishop before the names of Mel, Melchu, and Munis, he does not give that title *speci-ally* to Rioc. His words are these:—

Darerca riup Dabruic, matair coic n-ep-
poc ndeg, ⁊ da oꝯ. .i. erpog Mael, ⁊ erpog
Melcha, erpog Munis, Rigoc inre bo pmbē,
Crumaine, Mibnu, Mogenoc, Loman Ata
Cruim, Luran Duanaire, ⁊ Loarnb o Chill
Chunnu a n-bir, Ciaran, Carantoc, Erpoo
Colum, brenamb Fine, Erpoc mac Cailli,
bpocan, bpocarb. Eche, ⁊ Lalloc o Senlor
iar mbabōgnu, na bi Callig.

Darerca sister of Patric, was the mother of fifteen
Bishops, and of two Virgins, viz. Bishop Mael, Bishop
Melchu, Bishop Munis, Rigoc [Rioc] of Inis-bo-
finne, Crumaine^b, Mibnu, Mogenoc, Loman of
Ath Trim, Luran-Duanaire^c, and Loarnn, both of
Cill Chunnu, Ciaran, Carantoc, Bishop Colum,
Brennan Fine, Bishop Mac Cailli, Brocan, Brocaid.
Eche and Lalloc of Senlos behind Badgna [i. e.
west of Slieve Badgna] were the two nuns^d.

It is manifest that this passage contains nothing in support of the assertion that Rioc was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick, or that he accompanied his uncle in his apostolic journeys; moreover, it assigns to Darerca sons, who (as we learn from other authorities) were not her sons, and therefore it is quite possible that there may be error also in the statement that she was the mother (in the literal sense) of St. Rioc of Inisbofinne.

That Rioc's name may have been introduced into this passage by the interpolator is the more probable, because, in the Felire or Metrical Martyrology of Aengus, Rioc's name does not occur. From this it seems to follow, that in the age of Aengus (the beginning of the ninth century), he was not known, or at least not recognised as a saint in the Irish Calendar. Had it been otherwise, and had Rioc been at that time regarded as a nephew and companion of St. Patrick, it is scarcely to be supposed that

^b *Crumaine*.—Colgan reads, "Crumaine of Lec-
can."

^c *Luran-Duanaire*.—Colgan reads, "Lurach-
Decanaire of Doire Lurain, and Loarn of Kill-
chunnu."

^d *Two nuns*.—*De Matribus Sanctorum* (in the
Book of Lecan). That this passage is interpolated is
plain from the fact, that although it begins by assert-
ing Darerca to have been the mother of fifteen Bishops,
sixteen are mentioned, if not eighteen; for Colgan
reduces them to sixteen by making Luran and Dua-
naire (or, as he reads, "Lurach-Decanaire") one,
and also by joining in the same way Mac Cailli and

Brocan, or as he has it, "Mochalli-Broccan." Jocelin, however (c. 50) tells us that Mogenoc, Loman, Brocan, and Brocaid, were the sons of Ti-
grid, not of Darerca, as Colgan himself confesses (*Acta SS.* p. 263), a statement which is confirmed by other authorities, especially the *Tripartite Life*, part ii. c. 2. And it is worthy of note that these latter authorities make Brocan a distinct personage from Mac Cailli. All this is further evidence of in-
terpolation in the existing MSS. of the works of Aengus, and shows how little weight should be given to such statements, in comparison with so ancient a MS. as the *Liber Hymnorum*.

his name could have been omitted in such a work as the *Felire*. This omission must therefore throw very great doubt, not only on the statement of his having lived with St. Patrick, but also on his being the son of Darerca¹. It is difficult to imagine that these facts, if true, could have been unknown to the Irish Church in the ninth century.

3. With respect to the Martyrology of Tamhlacht, and that of Marianus Gorman, it is remarkable that although both have the name of St. Rioc, under the form Morioc, or *my Rioc* (the usual title of respect or devotion given to the saints in Ireland), yet neither of them say anything of his being a Bishop, or of his relationship to St. Patrick.

Marianus Gorman has these words only, at the 1st of August:—

MORIOC FOR RIMB-NEM
Morioc above the starry heavens.

Upon which there is in the Brussels MS. the following interlineary gloss:—

EPPROC IMI MEIC UALAING
Bishop of Inis meic Ualaing

where it will be observed, that the title of Bishop is given him by the scholiast or annotator, and not by the original author of the Martyrology.

The Martyrology of Tamhlacht has his name on the same day (1st Aug.) in these words:—

MORIOC IMI LUĞEIN
Morioc of Inis Lugein².

And here again there is no mention either of his relationship to St. Patrick, or of his having been a Bishop, much less of his having been consecrated by St. Patrick. It is also worth noting, that in these authorities, although he is called a Bishop, nothing is said of his having been the son of Darerca.

¹ *Son of Darerca*.—In another work attributed to Aengus, and extant in MS. in the Book of Lecan, “the seven sons of Restitutus the Lombard” are enumerated in two different places, a circumstance which gives rise to the suspicion that this also is an interpolation. These are “Sechnall, bishop; Nechtain, Bp.; Dabonna, priest; Mogornan, priest; Darigoc, Bp. [i. e. St. Rioc, who is called *Darioc*, in the second copy]; Ausaille [Auxilius] Bp.; and Lugna [Lugnaid] Bp.”—*De Sanctorum Geneal*. Here it will be observed that Rioc is said to be the son of Restitutus the Lombard, not of Conis the Briton, and there is no mention of Mel or Munia, the elder brothers of Rioc, according to other autho-

rities; and yet St. Sechnall, who died in 447, at the age of 73, is asserted to be the son of Darerca by the same father as Rioc, although Rioc was but a boy when Mel and Munia, the sons of Darerca by another husband, were Bishops. How is it possible to treat these statements as history?

² *Inis Lugein*.—It appears from this that the island known by the name of Inis bo-finn, in Loch Ribh, was also called *Inis Lugein*, or Island of Lugen, and *Inis meic Ualaing*, i. e. island of the son of Ualang, from which we may infer that Lugen was the son of Ualang, but nothing more seems to be known of these personages.—See Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 268, n. 11.

All these circumstances throw great suspicion on the statements in question; and as it is on these mainly that Colgan builds in assigning so early a date as 454 to Rioc's arrival in Ireland, it is important to remark, that unless they were more fully established, they cannot for a moment be allowed to weigh against the authority of so early a MS. as the *Liber Hymnorum*.

4. Let us inquire then more particularly how Colgan has arrived at this date.

The Life of St. Brigid, which Colgan and Ussher attribute to St. Ultan, tells us that during her mother's pregnancy two holy Bishops^a, Mel and Melchu, arrived from Britain, and having been hospitably received at the house of her father Dubhtach, predicted the future sanctity and fame of the unborn infant.

Here there is no mention of Rioc, or of any other companion of these Bishops; and the same story, in nearly the same words, and with the same silence as to any companion or attendant on the Bishops, is told by Animosus^b in his Life of St. Brigid, who adds, however, that Mel and Melchu were *disciples* (he does not say *nephews*) of St. Patrick: "*ipsi erant discipuli sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi, qui tunc prædicabat verbum Dei in Hibernia.*"

But although these Lives say nothing of Rioc, the defect is supplied by Jocelin^c, who tells us (c. 102) that Mel was accompanied by *his brothers* Munis and Rioc, when he came from Britain into Ireland: and from this Colgan infers, that the date of his visit to the house of St. Brigid's parents must also be regarded as the date of St. Rioc's arrival in Ireland.

But the year 453 or 454 has been fixed upon by Ussher and Colgan^d as the most probable date of St. Brigid's birth, allowing her to have lived 70 years, and to have died, according to the testimony of the *Annals of Ulster*, in 523 or 524.

From these premises it will follow that Rioc came to Ireland with his brothers Mel, Munis, and Melchu, in the year 453 or 454; and this is the reasoning upon which Colgan determines the date of that event.

The reader, however, will observe that the whole validity of this conclusion depends on the truth of Jocelin's assertion (an assertion not found in any earlier writer), that Rioc was the companion of St. Mel when he arrived in Ireland. Moreover, it should be observed that Jocelin, in the very same passage in which he makes this

^a *Bishops*.—"In illis autem diebus, Deo instigante, duo sancti episcopi ex Britannia venientes intraverunt in domum Dubtachi, quorum alter vocabatur Mel, et alter Melchu," &c.—*Vit. 3^{ta} S. Brig.*, c. 3. *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 527.

^b *Animosus*.—*Vit. 4^{ta} ap. Colgan.* c. 3, *ib.* p. 546. And see the fifth Life (p. 567) to which the same remark applies.

^c *Jocelin*.—*Vit. 6^{ta} S. Patr.*, ap. Colgan. *ib.* p. 88.

"Magni Vlr meriti Mel supra memoratus, qui cum fratribus suis viris sanctissimis, Munio et Riocho, de Britannia in Hiberniam advenit, ab ipso S. Patricio in Pontificali gradum promotus, ipse in prædicatione coadjutor extitit."

^d *Colgan*.—See Ussher, *Ind. Chron.*, in anno 453. Colgan. *Append. ad Vit. S. Brigid.* c. 8 and 9.

assertion, tells us that St. Mel was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick; so that he must have been in Ireland before, or else we must allow a sufficient time for his consecration between his arrival in Ireland and his visit to the house of Dubhtach; unless, indeed, we suppose him to have been consecrated by St. Patrick in Wales, which can scarcely have been intended.

All this looks so like a modern embellishment of the story (especially when we observe that Rioc and Munis are mentioned incidentally in a sort of parenthesis), that it seems unsafe to build so much upon it; and the chronology to which it leads is inconsistent with facts recorded in authorities of higher antiquity and of much greater weight.

For it is evident that if Rioc came to Ireland in 454, he could not have been a student in the Academy of Whiterne in 520. So that Jocelin's statement is at variance with the narrative of the ancient Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, who lived, most probably, in the ninth or tenth century, and copied still older traditions. It is impossible to hesitate a moment when we are compelled to choose between historical facts stated by such an authority, and the *obiter dictum* of a writer like Jocelin, who flourished at the close of the twelfth century, and was not even a native of Ireland.

Again, there is a passage in the Life of St. Aedh Mac Bric, Bishop of Killare, in Meath, which is likewise inconsistent with the early date which Jocelin's story would assign to St. Rioc's arrival in Ireland.

This prelate died in 588, as we learn from the Four Masters, and other authorities, and as, indeed, Colgan himself admits. The following account of him is given in the Martyrology of Donegal at the 10th of November:—

Clod mac b̄ric epp̄cob o chill d̄ir i M̄the,
 7 o Shliabh Liag i t̄ir Boghaine i c̄enél
 Conaill. Do f̄huót f̄iachaó mic Neill naoi
 ḡiallaig b̄o. Clor̄ C̄r̄ist an can po f̄as̄b a
 r̄p̄p̄ac do cum nimhe 588.

Aodh Mac Bric, Bishop of Killare in Meath, and
 of Shliabh Liag in Tir Boghaine in Cinel Conaill.
 He was of the race of Fiach, son of Niall of the nine
 hostages. The year of Christ when he resigned his
 spirit to heaven was 588.

Colgan, however, has published his Life from a Kilkenny MS. at the 28th of February. It is anonymous, but as Colgan has remarked¹, was evidently written before the year 1000, not only from its rude style, but also because the writer speaks of monasteries as existing in Ireland in his time, which certainly did not exist since A. D. 1000.

This writer tells us that St. Aedh in the course of his journeyings paid a visit² to

¹ Killare.—A parish near the hill of Uisneach, barony of Rathconrath, county Westmeath.

² Shliabh Liag.—Now Shevealeague, barony of Banagh, county of Donegal, where the ruins of the ancient chapel of St. Aedh are still to be seen.—

O'Donovan, *Notes to the Four Masters*, at A. D. 588.

¹ Has remarked.—See his note 1, to this Life, *Acta SS.* p. 412.

² A visit.—His words are, cap. 35, "Venit S. Aedus Episcopus ad insulam Bofindo id est vacom

St. Rioc, in his monastery of Inis-bo-finne in Loch Ribh, who hospitably entertained him there. And the mention of several other historical personages as being the contemporaries of St. Aedh clearly shows that this visit must be dated after the middle of the sixth century. Thus we read (cap. 3) that St. Aedh, whilst still a boy, wandered into a remote and desert Island, where he found SS. Brendan of Birr and Cannech of Achadh-bo sitting in a cell, and studying the Gospels together: and that St. Brendan seeing the boy coming, rose up to meet him with the greatest respect and joy, predicting his future eminence. Now, St. Brendan died A. D. 571 (see Ussher, *Index Chron.*), and St. Cannech*, who was born A. D. 515, died 598. This would bring St. Aedh's visit to Inis-bo-finne much later than 530, the year to which Colgan refers it; for in 530 St. Cannech was but 15 years old (if the dates above given are correct), and, therefore, according to the story just quoted, St. Aedh must have been much younger; whereas he was a Bishop when he paid his visit to St. Rioc.

We must add, therefore, some fifteen or twenty years to Colgan's date in order to avoid this difficulty, which will give 545 or 550, as being, with more probability, the year in which Aedh and Rioc met at Inis-bo-finne.

This is confirmed by the mention of Mughain, queen of Diarmait Mac Fergusa Cearbheoil (King of Ireland A. D. 544-565), who was healed by Aedh's prayer, (cap. 19). Also by the mention of the celebrated prophet St. Beg mac De (cap. 33) who died 557, and of Aedh's visit to St. Lasrian of Daimhinis, or Devenish Island, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 570.

All these considerations prove, beyond a question, that Rioc could not have come to Ireland, or been the companion of St. Patrick in 454; but it will be seen that the testimony of the ancient Life of St. Aedh coincides with the evidence of the *Liber Hymnorum* in bringing him down to a lower date², which is strongly confirmed by the silence of the ancient Martyrologies.

albæ, quæ est in stagno Righe, et suscepit eum S. Rioc, abbas illius loci honorificæ. Monasterium enim clarum in illa insula est, quod ex nomine insulæ nominatur." Here the writer speaks of the monastery as still in being. It was entirely destroyed, however, by the Danes in 1085. See Colgan's note in loc.

* *St Cannech*.—These are the dates given by the Four Masters, and by Colgan himself.—*Acta SS.* p. 190.

² *A lower date*.—In the first ed. of the *Primordia* (4^o *Dubl.* 1639) Ussher had said of St. Rioc (p. 825): "Postea episcopum factum invenio in parva illa (a Bedæ descripta) insula, quæ ad occi-

dentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta, sermone Scottico Inis-bo-finde, id est Insula vitula albæ nuncupatur;" thus confounding the Inis-bo-finde of Loch Ribh, with the island of the same name off the coast of Connemara. This error he corrected in his *Addenda* (p. 1045), but fell into another (which is continued in the edition of *Lond.* 1687, fol.), by intimating that St. Rioc, abbot of Inis-bo-finde was not the same who is said to have been St. Patrick's nephew. He says (p. 1045): "Quin et aliam ejusdem nominis insulam (inter Connaciam et Longfordiæ comitatum positam atque ecclesiasticæ Ardachadensis episcopi jurisdictioni subditam) Sineî fluminis lacus Loch-rie dic-

It follows also that Rioc could scarcely have been the son of Darerca, St. Patrick's sister, if he was a young man of, say 15 or 20 years of age when he accompanied St. Finnian to Candida Casa in 520. For if Darerca was the mother of Mel, who was a Bishop in 454, still more, if she was the mother of St. Sechnall, who died at the age of 75, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 447, she could not, without a miracle, have been the mother of St. Rioc: and we have seen that she is not so called by any authority older than Jocelin, a writer of the twelfth century¹, for the interpolations of the works of Aengus the Culdee are probably even later than that period.

III. *Talmach and his son, St. Lonan of Treoit, or Trifod.*

The name of Talmach, but without any particulars of date or place, occurs in the Martyrologies of Tamhlacht, Marianus Gorman, and Donegal, at the 14th of March; and again on the 26th of February in the Martyrologies of Marianus, and Donegal.

In the autograph MS. of this latter work, preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, there is the following note at the 26th of February:—

Talmach. Aðerþ beða þarþpe, cap. 10, go ccuc Talmach a ðeall þo Ðia 7 þo þarþpe, oþ þaoþuþ an þcoil þarþpe illoð 1þce, 7 meþam þupab é þo an Talmach þin. No 1þe an Talmach, ata 14 Mærc. Oþ m þai-cim þo luðc a ccoþanma aðc 1ab aþaon.

Talmach. The Life of Barre, cap. 10, says that Talmach gave his church to God and to Barre; for he was of the school of Barre in Loch Irc; and I think it was this Talmach. Or it was the Talmach who is on the 14 of March. For I do not see any of the same name except these alone.

Colgan, however, has placed Talmach, the disciple of St. Brendan, at the 26th of February, and Talmach, the disciple of St. Barre, at the 14th of March.

The latter of these having been a student of St. Barre's school at Loch-Eirce, must have flourished at the beginning of the seventh century, for Colgan² is of opinion

tus nobis exhibet; cujus et *Riochum* quendam, Patricii nepote ætate posteriorem, Abbatem extitisse S. Ædi vitæ scriptor hisce verbis prodidit" [he then quotes the words already given, note ¹, p. 115, *supra*]. And so the passage stands in the text of the edition of 1687, p. 430; but in the *Addenda* to that edition, p. 509, it is again corrected by omitting the statement that St. Rioc was a Bishop, and also the insinuation that the abbot of Inis-bo-finne was a different and a later Rioc than the reputed nephew of St. Patrick. With this last correction the text has been finally printed in Dr. Elrington's edition of Ussher's Works, vol. vi. p. 382. So that we have thus Ussher's mature judgment,—first, that Rioc, abbot of Inis-bo-finne was not a Bishop: and secondly, that we cannot relieve ourselves of

the difficulties of the story by supposing two of the name, and therefore that Rioc's being the nephew and companion of St. Patrick must be regarded as a fabrication, or at least an error, which originated in more modern times.

¹ *Twelfth century.*—Darerca was not an uncommon name. There was a Darerca (otherwise called Monine), of Cill Sleithe Cuillin (Slieve Gullion, now Killeavy, county Armagh), who died in 518 (517 in *Four Masters*), whom even Ussher has confounded with the sister of St. Patrick (*Index Chron.* in anno 518). It is possible, that Rioc's mother may have been called Darerca, but of this we have no evidence.

² *Colgan.*—De S. Talmacho, not. 4. *Acta SS.* p. 607.

that St. Barre's school could not have been opened before the year 600. If so, this Talmach could scarcely have been the same who was the companion of St. Rioc in 520 at the Academy of Whiterne.

The other Talmach, however, must have flourished in the first half of the sixth century. For St. Brendan (whose disciple he was, and who died A. D. 576 or 577), founded the Church of Clonsfert (according to the Annals of Clonmacnois), in A. D. 558; and before that he had been for some time in an island in Connaught, as his Life tells us, and three years in Britain, where St. Talmach is said to have been his companion: so that we cannot assign a much later date than 550 to this Talmach's connexion with St. Brendan. Therefore, so far as Chronology is concerned, he may very well have been the fellow-student of S. Rioc in 520, and the father of St. Lonan of Trifod.

Still there is no evidence beyond the identity of the name and the possibility of the thing, to prove that he was so. Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, in the passage cited above, says expressly, that he was not aware of any others of the name, except the two Talmacha, whose memories are preserved in the Irish Calendar at Feb. 26th and March 14th. Nevertheless, he speaks of Talmach the father of St. Lonan of Trifod, at the 1st of November. Are we, therefore, to infer that he considered this Talmach as identical with one of the former^a? if so, it must be with the disciple of St. Brendan, as is evident from what has been said. O'Clery's words are as follows:—

An Lonan po Trepob, Talmach ainn a
atap, ⁊ Dustric inžen Tpuirt nīg bnetam
cuairceirt a matain, aīnāl an pannpo:—

Tpuirt nī an tpaon inben on tpaig,
Ro teadót aoin inžen iomlaim.
Dustric ppi gād pobail pōin,
Matap Lonan mic Talmagh.

As to this Lonan of Trifod, Talmach was the
name of his father, and Dustric daughter of Trust
King of North Britain was his mother—as this
poem proves:—

Trust king of the free bay^b on the strand,
Had one perfect daughter,
Dustric, she was for every good deed [renowned],
The mother of Lonan son of Talmach.

This is clearly the same story which is given by the Scholiast on the Hymn before us. But it does not decide who the Talmach was who was the father of St. Lonan,

^a The former.—His meaning, however, may be that he knew of no other *saints* of the name besides the two of whom he had spoken.

^b The free bay.—“Saor inbher on traigh.” The free bay on the strand. *Inbher*, pronounced *Inver*, is a bay into which a river runs, or a long, narrow neck of the sea resembling a river. The word enters into the composition of many geographical names

both in Ireland and Scotland. Is *Inbher-on-traigh* the ancient name of any place in Scotland? Or could *Caervantorigum*, the Roman name for Wigton and Kirkcudbrightshire, be derived from it, quasi *Castrum super litus*, or *Caer-inbhir-on-traighe*? I know how fallacious such conjectures are, and therefore I would only be understood as making a guess for the consideration of scholars.

or whether he was one of the saints of the same name who were commemorated in the Calendar^c of the ancient Church of Ireland.

It is a singular fact, but not inconsistent with the primitive simplicity of the rude age to which this legend belongs, that the *daughter* of a Pictish king should have been sent to learn letters at the Academy of St. Mugint, along with students of the other sex. And I cannot but think that the manner in which the scholiast records this fact, without any attempt at apology or explanation, is a strong evidence of the antiquity and authenticity of the traditions from which he derived his narrative.

Drust, Durst, or Drest, was the name of several of the Pictish kings. One of these Drust, son of Erp, is said to have reigned an hundred years: and in the nineteenth year of his reign, we are told St. Patrick arrived in Ireland. This is asserted by the *Chronicon Pictorum*^d. And assuming it to be true, and that the year 432 is the year of St. Patrick's mission here intended^e, the reign of Drust came to a close A. D. 513, or thereabouts. But Innes rejects the story of his having reigned 100 years, and dates his death, with much greater probability, A. D. 451.

He was succeeded by Talorc, who reigned four years, and by Nectan, the first Christian king, who died in 480, and was followed by Drust Gormoth^f. Then comes Galam-arbith, or [-etelick], who reigned fifteen years, according to the Irish text of the Pictish Chronicle, and was succeeded, about A.D. 495 or 500, by two Drusts^g or Drests, who reigned for a time conjointly, viz. Drest, son of Budros, and Drest, son of Girum.

One or other of these was, therefore, in all probability, the father of Drusticc, who was the mother of St. Lonan of Treoit^h. At least, it is evident that there is nothing

^c *Calendar*.—It will be observed that neither Talmach is mentioned in the ancient *Felire* of St. Aengus the Culdee, composed in the eighth, or beginning of the ninth century. This seems to lead to the conclusion that their names were not then in the Calendar of the Irish Church; although it must be borne in mind that as the metrical rules to which Aengus restricted himself allowed only four lines to a day, it is not possible that he could have aimed at including more than the principal saints.

^d *Chronicon Pictorum*.—See Irish Version of Nennius, p. 161.

^e *Intended*.—It is possible, although I think not so probable, that the year 388, when St. Patrick and his sisters were captured by pirates, and sold as slaves in Ireland, may have been meant. If so, the year of Drust's death would be 469.

^f *Drust Gormoth*.—See Innes, *Civil and Eccl.*

Hist. of Scotland, published by the Spalding Club, p. 107. He is called *Dartguitimoth*, an evident corruption, in the Irish copy of the *Chron. Pictorum*. See *Irish Version of Nennius*, p. 163.

^g *Two Drusts*.—Irish Version of Nennius, p. 162, note ^e.

^h *Troit*.—Or Trifod, now Trivett, in the county Meath. The word signifies *three sods*, and the place received this name from the circumstance of three sods having been turned up at the interment of Art, son of Conn of the hundred battles, in this place which had been formerly called *Dumhadarg-luachra*. Hence came the custom of placing a sod at the head, and one at each side of the corpse at funerals, in the name of the Trinity; and the place where Art was buried obtained the name of *Трёхсод*, *three sods*. See the note in the *Martyrology of Donegal* at Nov. 1; and the *Four Masters* at A. D. 134.

inconsistent with the received Chronology of the Irish and Pictish, or British history of the period in the legend recorded by our Scholiast. All the personages named in it, so far as dates are concerned, may have been contemporary, and may have taken the parts assigned to them in the narrative. I am, therefore, strongly disposed to receive it, as being, in all its main facts, a narrative of true and authentic history.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to notice the opinion which the Scholiast states was entertained by some, that the author of this Hymn was "Ambrosius;" that is to say, Ambrose of Milan, who was celebrated in Ireland, and was called, as we have seen (see p. 70 *supra*), *Hymnodicus*, from his having been the author of several ecclesiastical Hymns. But this was probably the guess of some person who desired to find a more dignified author and origin for the Hymn than that which the singular legend told by the Scholiast has assigned to it, and who therefore suggested that Ambrose may have composed it "in his sickness," that is, either on some occasion when he himself was suffering from sickness (although no particular mention of any such occasion occurs in his history), or else during a season of common plague or sickness, which would be more in accordance with the words of the Hymn.

But this opinion is unworthy of any further discussion, and that which attributed the Hymn to David still less so. The Scholiast has, in fact, himself rejected this latter opinion as absurd, and has judiciously remarked, that it has no foundation except in the circumstance that the passage at the conclusion of the Hymn, *Dic angelo tuo percutienti populum, Sufficit*, is taken from the words in which the sacred historian records the cessation of the plague, which was the consequence of David's sin in numbering the people.—2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the subject matter of the Hymn does by no means accord with the opinion that it was composed by Mugint as a penitential acknowledgment of his fault, under the circumstances recorded in the legend told by our Scholiast. It contains no allusion to any individual repentance. It makes no individual confession of sin. It is altogether general, deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty from the people, or from some city, *civitate ista*, or monastery (for so *civitas* often signified); and alluding particularly to the fear of a hostile invasion.

The story of Mugint, Rioc, and Talmach, may, nevertheless, be authentic and true, although it be not true that the Hymn was composed by Mugint, in reference to those transactions, to which, in fact, it makes no allusion whatsoever. The Scholiast has related a genuine historical tradition, but erred in supposing that the Hymn with which he connects it was composed on that occasion.

Postscript.—After the foregoing pages were in type the Editor received from his friend Dr. Reeves the following remarks on the questions discussed pp. 103–108. Although he does not see cause to cancel what he has written, he is anxious that the reader should have before him the judgment of a scholar whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration. He therefore inserts Dr. Reeves's communication in this place:—

"There can be little doubt that the Scholiast intended Whitherna in North Britain to be the scene of the transaction which he relates. The Saxon name, which Ailredus latinizes *Witerna*, and is as closely represented by *Futerna* as the Irish admits, as well as the introduction of the Pictish King's daughter, clearly points to Galloway. Again, the association of the names Monennius, or Nennio, with a monastery called *Candida* or *Alba*, in the lives of SS. Tighernach, Eugenius, and Enda, indicates that the writers of these memoirs had reference to the same place.

"On the other hand, there is ground for supposing that part of the narrative is drawn from Wales: the name Mugint answers so exactly to the Welsh Meugan, and the 'Rosnatense,' or 'Rosnatum monasterium,' which is given as the alias for *Candida*, is so like the 'Rosina vallis' in which the church of Menivia, or St. David's, is situate, that a suspicion arises concerning their identity. St. David himself was instructed by Paulinus, the Pawl Hên of the Welsh, who had founded a monastery called *Ty-Gwyn ar Daf*, or 'White House on the Tave,' now known as Whitland in Carmarthenshire. Besides, the 'duo Finiani,' that is, of Movilla and Clonard, appear at the head of the 'Secundus Ordo' of Irish saints who 'a Davide episcopo, et Gilla, et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt' (Ussher, *Ant. Brit. Ec.* xvii. *Works*, vol. vi. p. 478). In the life of the latter Finian express mention is made of his being in company with SS. David, Cathmael, and Gildas, and subsequently as attached to a monastery of Cathmael, who was the Cadoc of the Welsh, and the Docus of the Irish. I cannot help thinking that there is a confusion of persons and places in the legend; and this custom of coupling the names Monennius and Rosnatum shows itself curiously enough in the life of a saint of different nation, sex, and age, namely, St. *Monenna*, who is represented in one life as sending her disciple Brignat across the sea to Britain to the island 'de Rosnatensi monasterio,' which Conchubran calls Andresie, a spot near Burton-on-Trent. (*Act. SS. Julii*, tom. ii. pp. 294 b, 309 a.)

"It is also matter for consideration whether the *Magnum Monasterium* of Capgrave may not be an equivalent for the *Bancor Fawr* of the Welsh."

